United Nations

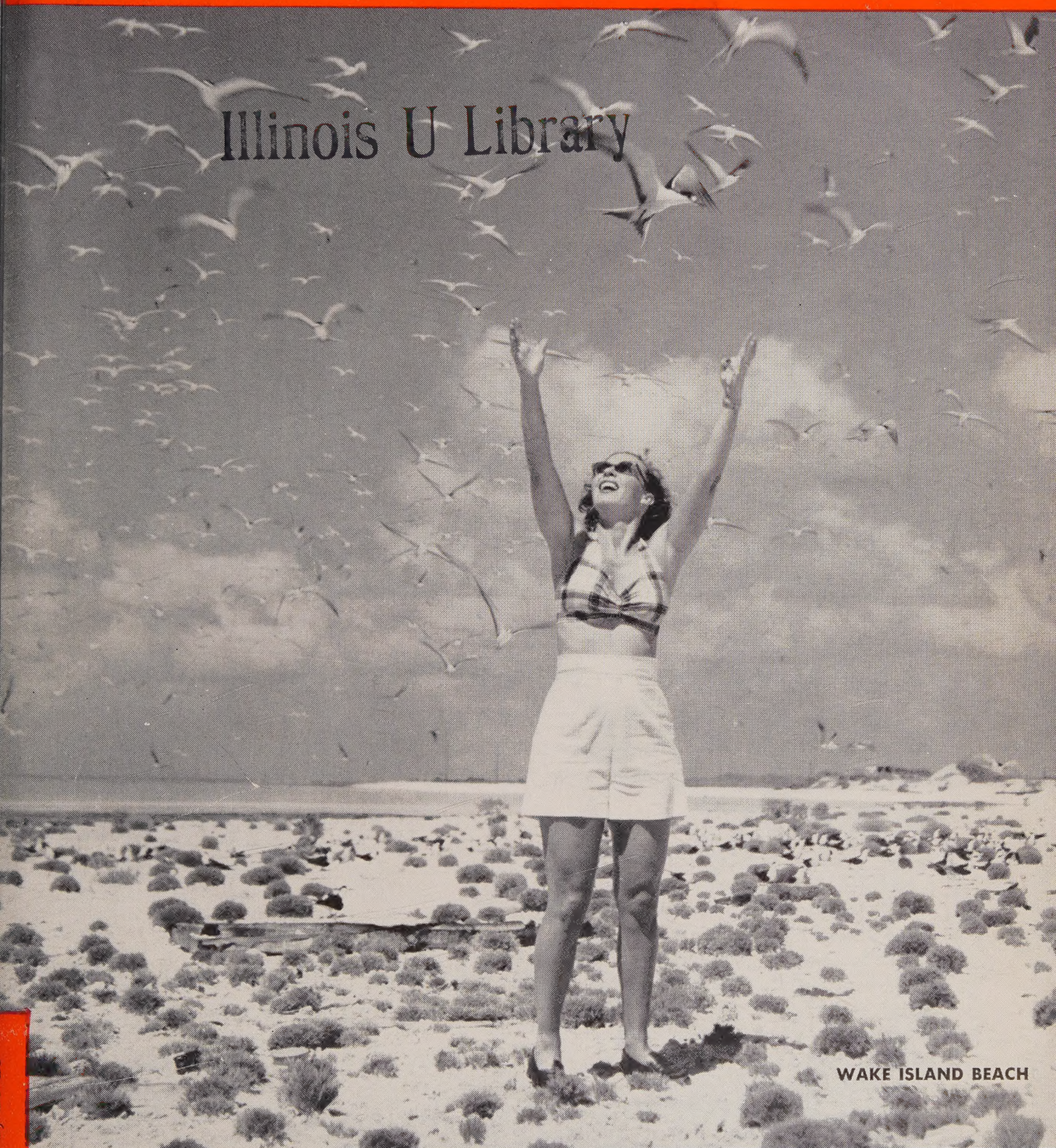
WORLD

azine

35¢

U 2AT BL 1959 1-SOR
UNIV OF ILLINOIS LIBRARY
CHICAGO UNDERGRADUATE
NAVY PIER
CHICAGO 11 ILL -DIV

Illinois U Library



WAKE ISLAND BEACH

TRYGVE LIE *on UN* | **SEN. McMAHON** *on the ATOM* | **ROMULO** *on Asia*

As electricity serves . . . SO PROSPERS THE WORLD!

Industrial Progress in Any Nation is Directly Geared to the Ability to Move Goods Swiftly.

Modern developments in commercial transportation have been greatly hastened, often actually brought about, by farsighted research of the General Electric Company. New diesel-electric locomotives, great turbine-generators and power stations, floodlight systems illuminating great rail terminals are but a few improvements which General Electric has helped bring into practical use.

Through the International General Electric Company, every nation can draw upon the unexcelled resources and experience of the General Electric Company. No electrical manufacturer is better equipped to serve you swiftly, economically, successfully. UN-9-4

INTERNATIONAL
GENERAL ELECTRIC
COMPANY
INCORPORATED

New York • Schenectady • Washington

OFFICES IN ALL THE PRINCIPAL CITIES OF THE WORLD

A UN World Letter

From Nepal:

TRIUMPHANT at the top of the final pass, my escort paused, and pointed 3,000 ft. below to Kathmandu, capital of the independent Kingdom of Nepal, home of the Gurkha soldier.

To the Gurkha the term Nepal means the Valley of Nepal in which the capital, and the old cities of Patan and Bhatgaon are situated. A Gurkha living outside the valley will always say that he comes "from the hills" and not "from Nepal." And it is from the hills that the great majority of the Gurkhas are recruited.

Nepal, a country which rises in a series of huge steps to the Himalayas—is 450 miles long and 150 miles wide, bordered on one side by Tibet and on the other by India, and although no accurate census has been taken, it is believed to have a population of about 6,000,000. She has always guarded her inaccessibility to the foreigner, and visitors are only permitted at the express invitation of His Majesty the King and His Majesty's Minister.

For those fortunate enough to receive an invitation to visit Nepal the journey from India is a long and arduous one. The Nepalese railway runs from Raxaul (India) for 30 miles through the sal and teak forests of the Terai (which breeds a particularly deadly form of mosquito responsible for the dreaded 'Ahwal' fever making the forests uninhabitable from March to October) to Amlekhganj, and the journey takes about four hours.

From Amlekhganj the mail lorry takes you 30 miles to Bhimphedi, a journey of about 2½ hours. The road is metalled and graded up the hill-side. It abounds with bridges, the planks being laid very loosely and rattling vigorously as the lorry passes over them. At Bhimphedi the road ends and further progress has to be made on pony or on foot. It is here that a Mukhia (Sepoy of the Nepalese Army) meets you and will be your escort to Kathmandu.

An early start is advisable the next day, for there is a 16-miles' march ahead and the capital must be reached before nightfall. The coolies, too, like to start early before the sun is up, with the luggage. The track is precipitous and very stony.

A short climb up to Chisapani Pass discloses the snowy peaks of Everest and the Himalayas, beautiful against the bright blue sky. Thousands of feet below the Markhu River winds its way through the valley. A steep drop now to the villages of Markhu, Kulikhani and Chitlang. The villages are picturesque and on the houses are seen the rich carvings of the Newars, the artificers of Nepal. The houses are mostly two-storied and very well built. The villagers are friendly and very willing to talk; any natural shyness vanishes quickly especially if the language is known.

Fields are being prepared for the rice crops. Holdings are small and are terraced on the hill-sides and all are "ploughed" with a small pick.

The track winds on until a gash is seen in the range of hills to the right—this is the Chandragiri Pass—the track zig-zags up at an acute angle to the pass, 8,000 ft. above sea level, from here another magnificent view of the Himalayas can be seen and also the whole expanse of the Valley of Nepal with Kathmandu glistening white in the sunshine. Our immediate objective, the village of Thankot, lies 3,000 ft. below and the path down is very steep. At the bottom waits a saloon car for the last nine miles into Kathmandu itself. The capital is surprising—broad, well-made roads bordered by white stucco buildings—palaces, barracks, offices, and the University of Nepal. There are hundreds of bicycles. They and the few cars (carried to Kathmandu by scores of coolies over the tortuous route from Bhimphedi) owned by His Majesty the King travel on roads which many European capitals would envy. The capital has its own electricity supply too, though this has not yet been extended to the other cities in the valley—or to "the hills."

In the Durbar Square, mingled with modern architecture, stands what is probably the most interesting of all the historical buildings—the original building from which the capital took its name (Kath—wood; Mandu—temple) which is said to have been constructed from a single tree.

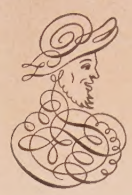
The valley is densely populated, troops are in evidence everywhere, and on the maidan, a large open space in the centre of the city, they can be seen on parade.

In appearance the Gurkhas are Mongoloid and have the high cheek bones and typical eyes of the Mongolian races—and are fair-skinned. They carry their national weapon, the kukri, a short heavy knife which has a broad and very curved blade about 18 inches long. It is normally carried in the waist-cloth, by civilians, but troops carry it on their belt on the opposite side of the bayonet. Although its uses are many and varied the kukri is never thrown. The Gurkhas are nearly all bi-lingual, in addition to their tribal language they speak Nepali—the lingua franca of the country.

In religion, though at one time Buddhism was predominant, the great majority nowadays profess the Hindu faith—but they cannot really be considered very strict followers.

Nepal is a very happy country—its people are sincere, honest, loyal and industrious. It is hard to have to bid them farewell, but a visit to Nepal gives one memories to last a lifetime.

J. R. GREENWOOD



The Algonquin is centrally located—within a few blocks of Grand Central Station, Radio City, Times Square, and Fifth Avenue shops. Ample parking space just across the street.

Rooms are of good size, freshly decorated, cheerful, comfortable and quiet—all with modern private baths.

In the Oak Room, famous for its food, the Algonquin plays host to many of New York's most interesting people, particularly of the stage and the literary world.

Singles $5.00 to $7.00
Doubles $8.00 & $9.00
Suites from $11.00

Air conditioned rooms and suites, and television, available.

Algonquin

59 West 44th Street, New York

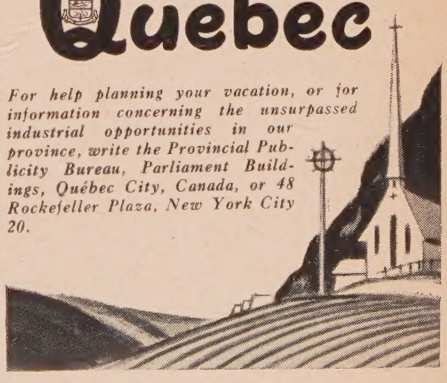
Phone Murray Hill 7-4400

In Québec every sport is at its best!

Whether you wish to rough it in the picturesque forest and lake districts of Quebec's mountains or prefer the more formal resorts of Quebec's beautiful and unspoiled lakes and rivers, you can find in Quebec an ideal location for a truly memorable and different vacation.

LA PROVINCE DE Québec

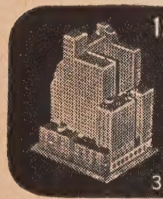
For help planning your vacation, or for information concerning the unsurpassed industrial opportunities in our province, write the Provincial Publicity Bureau, Parliament Buildings, Québec City, Canada, or 48 Rockefeller Plaza, New York City 20.



SPEECH and ENGLISH
American and Foreign-Born Adults
Laymen and Professional
Individual Voice Recordings and Analysis
Voice—Placement, Tone Support, Rhythm, Intonation
Diction—Correct Sounds, Enunciation, Pronunciation
Vocabulary Building—Social and Professional
Rates Per Hour—Private $4.00
Semi-Private $3.00 and $2.00; Group (4-6) $1.50
Phone for Appointment
HAZEL P. BROWN, B.S., M.A.
Columbia University New York University
Suite 214, Shelburne Hotel, Lexington Ave. and 37th St.
New York 16, N. Y. Tel. MU 5-0132 or MU 9-5200

TIMES OF INDIA ANNUAL 1949
Just Arrived!
98 Pages of stories, articles, photographs on modern INDIA. 39 color plates, several mounted for framing. $1.00 postpaid.
TIMES OF INDIA
350 - 5th Avenue, New York 1, N. Y.

WHITE HART INN
SALISBURY, CONN.
This Charming Colonial Inn, Open All Year, delightfully situated in the Berkshire Foothills, offers atmosphere, comfortably furnished rooms, private baths, telephone in all rooms. Excellent Cuisine. Cocktail Lounge.
Sports. Churches nearby. Booklet.
New York Office, 500 Fifth Ave. LO 5-1114
Ask Foster Travel Service or Your Agent.
2½ hrs. from New York City


1200 ROOMS • 1200 BATHS
Single $3.50 to $5
Double $6 to $9
Henry Hudson
John Paul Stack
Gen. Mgr.
HOTEL
353 WEST 57th ST., NEW YORK

Reprints at Cost
UNITED NATIONS WORLD articles may be obtained in lots of 50 or more by educational and other interested groups or individuals at cost. For information on specific articles, address UN WORLD Dept. S, 385 Madison Ave., New York 17, N. Y.

PICTURE CREDITS

Cover: Pan American World Airways; Page 9: Leo Rosenthal; Page 11: Acme; Page 15: Wide World; Page 17: French Embassy Information Services; Pages 16, 21: OJI, World Jewish Congress; Pages 28, 29: Wide World; Pages 34 through 38: Ivan Dmitri for American Export Lines; Page 55: Wide World; Page 59: Official UN Photo.

UNITED NATIONS WORLD, June 1949, Vol. 3, No. 6. Published monthly by U.N. World, Inc., 310 Madison Ave., New York 22, N. Y. Entered as second class matter August 2, 1948, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Price: 35 cents a copy, $4.00 for one year, $7.00 two years, $9.00 three years. Foreign postage outside US possessions, Western Hemisphere and Spain, $1.00 a year. Printed in the U.S.A. Copyright 1949 by U.N. World, Inc.

Other Letters to the editors

Strasbourg's Voice

The creation of a European Union appears to us as a promise of salvation for this old continent on which the peoples, in the past, have so often fought one another.

Strasbourg is proud of its choice as the permanent site of the European Union, and will extend a warm welcome to the delegates of the new European organization.

In the immediate future, we hope that the European Union will bring us a measure of security. But its main aim, to my mind, will be to permit the European nations to put together, in the framework of western civilization, their moral, intellectual and economic resources with, as a final aim, the creation of a Confederation of United Nations of Europe.

Thus the City of Strasbourg, which in the past has been the stake of many wars, in becoming the site of the European Union, will become in the future a symbol of the unity of the peoples and of peace promised to men of good will.

Charles Frey
Mayor of Strasbourg
Strasbourg

For Lack of Quotes

In a letter I wrote in February concerning my use of the UNITED NATIONS WORLD in my class devoted to contemporary magazine study, I quoted certain student opinions and then stated what I considered to be the chief value of a magazine in college teaching.

I have been much disturbed by the fact that no quotation marks were used on the statements from students. Though published over my name, the English and the ideas—perhaps the order is incorrect—expressed neither me nor my ideas, and yet I was responsible, apparently, for both.

Since then I have received letters challenging ideas that certainly were not mine. I have always been a strong advocate of the United Nations' work, and therefore seriously object to being made to say I am against the United Nations because of its ideology.

Lucia B. Mirrielees
Montana State University
Missoula, Montana

The Editors of UNW deeply regret any embarrassment Miss Mirrielees has been caused.

Blocked Capital

In your March issue, Andrew Shonfield of the BBC seeks to refute Emil Schram and to assure American investors that capital invested in Britain will be politically secure and will not be destroyed or stolen.

I have a small sum invested in Britain and my (English) bank assures me that if I realize on it, I can neither convert it into dollars (which is understandable) *nor even spend it in Britain.* This amounts, in effect, to (at least temporary) confiscation and does not substantiate the encouraging "come hither" tone of Mr. Shonfield's remarks.

W. Edwin Collier
THE KINGSBURY
Philadelphia 43, Pa.

A British official explains Mr. Collier's predicament to UNW as follows:

"If blocked capital were to be released to meet current expenditure by its owners in the United Kingdom or the sterling area, the result would be a severe reduction in Britain's current earnings of dollars. For example, American corporations holding blocked assets in Britain would have no cause to purchase sterling against dollars for their current requirements.

"Although it is admitted that this ruling imposes uneven hardship, it is quite impossible to open the sluice gates at the moment because of the huge holdings which would attempt to move across the Exchanges if this control were removed.

"There is, however, no question of 'confiscation' since not only is interest paid in full, but it is also converted into dollars payable as such. At no point since the regulations were imposed has the payment of such interest been restricted. Lastly, as soon as Britain's position improves, these unfortunately necessary regulations will be relaxed."

VERDE VALLEY SCHOOL
Prepares for COLLEGE and WORLD CITIZENSHIP
To build a peaceful world for tomorrow, our children must be educated today to think and act in terms of world cooperation. Verde Valley believes this can be done most effectively at the pre-college level while children's minds are still flexible
On its 160-acre campus near Flagstaff, Arizona, specific training for international cooperation is integrated with thorough college preparation. Required courses are enriched by group work projects. Monthly trips make possible first-hand study of human relations and inter-cultural problems on Indian Reservations and in Mexican villages, economic and government problems in nearby cities, anthropology, geology and other sciences in Grand Canyon, etc.
Languages stressed. Highly qualified teachers. Riding, skiing, other sports. Full college preparatory course from grade 6, for boys and girls. Applications accepted now for fall term. Catalog on request.
HAMILTON WARREN, Dir.
Box 98, Sedona, Ariz. **New York office: 205 E. 42nd St.**

EDITORIAL BOARD:
Richard J. Walsh, *Chairman*
Pearl S. Buck
Eliot Pratt
William L. Shirer
Fred Smith
Vernon Pope, *Director*

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS:
Thomas Mann
Jawaharlal Nehru
Vincent Sheean
Lin Yutang

INTERNATIONAL EDITOR:
Louis Dolivet

MANAGING EDITOR:
Charles Burns

SENIOR EDITOR:
Ladislas Farago

WORLD BUSINESS EDITOR:
Herbert Harris

ART CONSULTANT
Tobias Moss

ART DIRECTOR:
Kenneth Audroué

BOOKS, ART, TRAVEL:
Tibor Koeves

PICTURES AND PRODUCTION:
Pearl M. Steinhaus

ASSISTANT EDITORS:
Anne Palmos, M. M. Goebel, Anne Berry

ROVING CORRESPONDENTS:
Leo Lania, Curt L. Heymann

INTERNATIONAL CORRESPONDENTS:
Natalia Danesi Murray *(Rome)*; Gunnar Fagrell *(Stockholm)*; Vincent de Pascal *(Montevideo)*; Jenaro Fernandez MacGregor *(Mexico City)*; Francis Noel-Baker *(London)*.

PUBLISHER:
Egbert White

GENERAL MANAGER:
Richard D. Mathewson

CIRCULATION DIRECTOR:
Wm. R. Pelkus

THE COVER

ON WAKE ISLAND, sooty terns and a pretty girl convert a World War II beach into a lilting, lifting inspiration to flight.

UN WORLD
THE INTERNATIONAL MAGAZINE

CONTENTS, June 1949 *Vol. 3, No. 6*

ARTICLES

Let's Tell the Atom Bomb Story 11 *Brien McMahon*
Japan's New Live Weapon 13 *Denis Warner*
Should the Senate Ratify the Genocide Convention? 17
For Ratification *James N. Rosenberg*
Against Ratification *Frank E. Holman*
UN World Eye Witness Reports
The World: Peace and a Living Wage 24 *A. Allen Ladd*
Berlin: Where Freight Cars Earned Their Wings 28 *Egbert White*
Battle Order of World Espionage—The Big Three 31
Venice . . . Ancient City of Sunlight 35 *Tibor Koeves*

STATE OF THE WORLD

Letter from Nepal 1 *J. R. Greenwood*
Letters to the Editor 2
What Gromyko Told Stalin 4 *The Editors*
Toward One World 9

THE UNITED NATIONS

Romulo Speaks Out . . . an interview 58 *Ruth Karpf*
Inside UN 61 *"Madison"*
UN Intelligence 63

WORLD TRADE

What's Right With the ITO 46 *William L. Batt*
What's Wrong With the ITO 50 *Curtis E. Calder*
Progress Report on Europe 54 *Gunnar Myrdal*
US Foreign Economic Policy 56 *Herbert Harris*

BOOKS

No Ivory Tower among Italy's ruins 39 *Bernard Wall*
Recommended Books 40
Socialism, Individualism, True Confucianism—Book Reviews 41
Literary Intelligence 44

EDITORIAL

Lift Up the Heart 64 *Trygve Lie*

SUBSCRIPTIONS: $4.00 one year, $7.00 two years, $9.00 three years. Foreign postage, outside United States possessions, Western Hemisphere nations and Spain, $1.00. Postage to APO and FPO addresses, free. Single copy price, 35c. Copyright 1949 by U.N. World, Inc., 510 Madison Ave., New York 22, N. Y. All rights reserved under the Pan-American Copyright Convention and International Copyright Union.

A UN World Exclusive
on moves toward a cold peace

What Gromyko Told Stalin

And what Stalin told the Politburo

Today for the first time in the 32-year history of the USSR, the hitherto top secret deliberations of the Politburo are known to a select few far beyond the tall walls of the Kremlin. To coordinate the conduct of foreign affairs within the Soviet commonwealth, the USSR is compelled to inform in advance non-Russian governments in Eastern Europe about decisions reached on questions of high policy, notably in the field of the USSR's foreign relations.

UN WORLD, through sources which it would be neither prudent nor proper to disclose, obtained access to some of the major directives dispatched from the Moscow chancellery to its dependencies in Eastern Europe. The following report is derived from these sources.

THE Paris Conference of the Big Four Foreign Ministers was made possible largely because Andrei A. Gromyko, the Soviet Union's first Deputy Foreign Minister, told Stalin the naked truth about the West. This occurred last Christmas at Sochi in the Crimea, where Gromyko was Stalin's house guest for nearly 3 months. The Soviet Premier, who regards the young diplomat highly, was eager to obtain from him a first-hand diagnosis and prognosis of Russo-American relations.

The highlights of Gromyko's report to Stalin were that:

- Russo - American rapprochement is feasible.
- The UN is the proper agency for composing US-USSR differences.
- The American people do not want war.
- Mr. Truman is genuinely determined to preserve peace.
- The small group of American "jingoists" is losing ground.
- US economic aid to Russia and Eastern Europe would be available once the political atmosphere cleared.
- US would never allow the rebuilding of a Nazi Germany.
- US distrusts Russian motives, and only a genuine demonstration of good will can convince Americans that Russia sincerely wants peace.

What Gromyko told Stalin was based on a series of confidential talks he had had, during May and June of 1948, with some 25 US industrialists and financiers. These leaders of American business, cordially received in Mr. Gromyko's house at 680 Park Avenue, New York City, were startled when the Soviet diplomat urged them to suggest methods for estab-

AMBASSADOR PHILIP C. JESSUP—ARCHITECT OF PEACE

lishing amicable relations between the US and USSR. From this group Mr. Gromyko requested written memoranda outlining their views, explaining that he would use these to support his campaign in Moscow to speed moves toward "normalcy" in Russo-American relations.

In Sochi, Gromyko conveyed to Stalin both the matter and mood of these conversations and substantiated his oral report with the written data.

Gromyko accompanied Stalin to Moscow and was invited to address the Politburo on this subject. A three months' debate ensued, during the course of which relations between the US and the USSR deteriorated dangerously. The debate over what became known as the Gromyko Plan ended with its endorsement by majority vote.

To implement the plan, Vyshinski and Gromyko were promoted to the top posts in the Foreign Office and given unprecedented power and latitude for direct negotiations with Western representatives. These negotiations resulted in agreement to lift the Berlin blockade, in the wake of Dr. Philip C. Jessup's almost clairvoyant intuition that the time was ripe to approach Deputy Foreign Minister Yakov Malik with the suggestion that the Berlin issue be reviewed in bilateral conversations.

Gromyko's behavior at the recent General Assembly in every respect confirmed the new Soviet foreign policy line. Although deliberations of the UN had major claim on his time, he worked virtually day and night to fit into his schedule long conferences with some of those same Americans whose thinking had helped him persuade Stalin to favor his plan. With this group, he reviewed almost every one of the outstanding issues of Russo-American relations in a forceful and forthright manner and discussed their solution on a *quid pro quo* basis.

Thus, he re-appraised the Greek situation, the Soviet bloc's potential participation in the Marshall Plan, US recognition of the Chinese Communists, international control of atomic energy, and the possible withdrawal of occupation troops from Germany.

During these sessions, American conferees gained the impression that the Soviet Union was ready to make major concessions if the West proved willing to come halfway. One of Mr. Gromyko's conference partners now insists that even the dissolution of the Cominform could be brought about if this should be made a prerequisite to Russo-American accord.

The Politburo decision to ratify the Gromyko Plan to work with the West represents a complete reversal of the 1947 Zhdanov Plan, which was designed to work against the West, primarily through the rebaptized Comintern—the Cominform.

Despite all this, the pro-Gromyko decision was hemmed in by typical Bolshevik safeguards against reverses. The positive advance toward rapprochement was accompanied by preparations for a possible retreat in depth. This tactic is evident even today. Soviet propaganda continues to support the old Zhdanov policy even while Soviet diplomacy works overtime to effectuate the Gromyko Plan.

Some Western diplomats view the new Soviet moves with notable reserve, even though they admit that, once the USSR accepts a cold peace with the West as the basic tenet of its foreign policy, it will go to amazing lengths to accommodate Washington, London and Paris.

The Paris Conference of the four Foreign Ministers gains crucial importance in view of the monumental changes pending in Soviet foreign policy. This time, the West will insist on some hard guarantees and sweeping concessions, to avoid any repetition of the Yalta and Potsdam pitfalls.

MOSCOW: ***Exit Cominform?***

Key figures in the Cominform (whose world headquarters are located in Bucharest) already have been alerted to stand by for possible orders to move the Cominform underground again in case of its above-ground abolition.

Stalin is known to be completely dissatisfied with the accomplishments of the Cominform to date. It failed to inspire "spontaneous" and sincere collaboration between the USSR and the members of its Eastern bloc. It failed to deliver France and Italy into the USSR orbit. Even more importantly, it failed to maintain solidarity within the Cominform itself. It was unable to prevent the Tito-Gomulka-Kostov defections which are viewed by Stalin with the gravest concern, since they threaten to plague the Communist International with the same bacilli of "ideological devia-

The super secret two dozen know

The size of the US atomic stockpile is known to at least 24 Americans. They include Mr. Truman (1), members of the Atomic Energy Commission (5), the civilian heads of the armed forces (4), the directors of the great atomic energy laboratories (3), and a top-ranking group of generals and admirals (11).

This knowledge is not shared by the members of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy of which Senator Brien McMahon is chairman **(see page 11).**

Surely this situation is a far cry from that which prevailed in 1946 when, in the course of a hectic Cabinet meeting, the then Secretary of War Robert P. Patterson revealed to President Truman that even he did not know either the size or the location of the US A-bomb stockpile.

Today the Washington grapevine throbs and hums with rumors about the exact number of A-bombs. The atmosphere is reminiscent of the taut weeks which preceded D-Day in 1944, when the exact date of the Normandy landings could be picked up at almost any cocktail party along Dumbarton Avenue. Figures ranging from 35 to 500 are bandied about with a recklessness that contrasts sharply with the immense secrecy which the White House tries to maintain. Those claiming to be best informed insist that there are surprisingly few A-bombs in stock —but those which do exist can last 1,900 years in storage.

tionism" which Stalin thought he had extinguished forever by means of the 1936-37 purges.

What mainly prevents dissolution of the Cominform today is the opinion of a majority in the Politburo who hold that members of the Communist parties in the Soviet Union and in neighboring countries should not be deprived of an instrument of co-operation among themselves. They therefore now seek a formula which will limit the Cominform's visible activity to the area of the Soviet Union and the "people's democracies."

STOCKHOLM: ***Back Pat***

Swedish diplomats are congratulating themselves that Sweden refused to join the Atlantic Pact. With the lifting of the Berlin Blockade and apparent rapprochement between East and West, they point out, a new political situation has arisen in Europe which bears out the validity of Sweden's arguments. If they signed the Pact, the Swedish argue, they would have put themselves in the position of a person who takes sides in a fight one minute before the adversaries start making friends.

LAKE SUCCESS: ***The Take***

Coincident with the clamor of US trade unionists for a "fourth round" of wage increases, the UN statistical office has released a study showing that, compared with 1938, the ratio of labor income to national income has declined from 66 to 64 per cent in the United States, from 63 to 56 per cent in Canada, from 58 to 54 per cent in Belgium and from 58 to 52 per cent in New Zealand. By contrast, the ratio has gone up 1 per cent in Australia (54 to 55), 3 per cent in the United Kingdom (62 to 65), 12 per cent in Switzerland (from 46 to 58) and 9 per cent in Norway (46 to 58) Czechoslovakia, (50 to 59), and the Netherlands (57 to 66).

BERNE: ***Sceptical***

For the second time in 30 years Switzerland has refused to aggrandize its territory at the expense of Germany by declining to ask for two tiny German enclaves not far from Schaffhausen: a hamlet called Veranhof and the community of Büssingen.

After the first war, many Swiss suggested that time had come to incorporate these enclaves into the Swiss Federation. More cautious voices, however, pointed out that such steps might lead to untoward complications at some future time. When Hitler with his slogan "Back to the Reich" came into power, the Swiss rejoiced that they had refrained from a gesture which would have offered to the Fuehrer a wonderful pretext for intervention.

Once more, after the defeat of Germany in 1945, the Büssingen question was revived when 99 per cent of the population asked for an Anschluss to Switzerland. But just as their predecessors 30 years ago, the present Bundesrat are cool to the idea and will not ask for Veranhof and Büssingen at the peace negotiations with Germany.

NEW YORK: ***Cold-War Fur***

Fur fashions have enjoyed economic immunity throughout the cold war. Americans bought more than $38 million of undressed furs from the USSR during 1948. Shipments of ermine, sable, persian lamb and caracul, marten, marmot and squirrel continued to arrive in the US regularly at prices determined primarily by US buyers at Russian fur auctions. At the same time, American-made machinery, ordered by the Soviet Union, continued to pile up in warehouses pending clarification of US-USSR trade relations.

OAHU: ***Newcomer***

Rear Admiral John Gingrich, USN, has moved to the Pacific Fleet as its Chief of Staff, from the US Atomic Energy Commission's Security Branch (see page 33).

PEACE: *It's Possible*

UNW's monthly survey of the international press shows that in recent weeks Peace has been the most popular subject of editorial cartoons. Cartoonists, being what they are, still poke fun at Miss Peace, but their moderation and their unusually mild scepticism reflect the hopeful optimism of millions of readers all over the world.

STALIN: "THIS TIME I MEAN IT!"
Ta Nea, Athens

NOT WAR . . . NOR PEACE

SUSPENSE
Le Canard Enchaîné, Paris

MUNICH: *Lost Kingdom*

Ever since September 26, 1911, history has stood still in the little Bavarian village of Neuses. On that day, Herr Wilhelm Schwarz was elected mayor over its 153 citizens and entrusted with the official seal carrying the inscription "Kingdom of Bavaria, Commune of Neuses."

During the intervening 38 years, Herr Schwarz has refused to recognize the 1918 Revolution, the Weimar Republic, the Third Reich and the American Occupation. Until this day he insists on using the seal he received more than a third of a century ago, so that the people of Neuses still die and are born and obtain liquor licenses in an otherwise long defunct "Kingdom of Bavaria."

HAMBURG: *Adjectives*

Colonel A. Zokayev who recently abandoned his post in the Russian zone of Berlin and surrendered to the British, has given the following capsule characterizations, in superlatives, of the members of the Politburo.

1. *Most ambitious:* G. M. Malenkov.
2. *Most loyal:* N. S. Khrushchev.
3. *Most cultured:* N. A. Bulganin.
4. *Most intelligent:* A. I. Mikoyan.
5. *Least intelligent:* Marshal K. Voroshilov.
6. *Least hypocritical:* V. M. Molotov.
7. *Most energetic:* N. A. Voznesenski.
8. *Most docile:* N. M. Shvernik.
9. *Most intimate with Stalin:* L. M. Kaganovich.
10. *Most ferocious:* L. P. Beria.
11. *Most vulgar:* A. A. Andreyev.
12. *Most forceful:* A. N. Kosygin.

UNITED NATIONS WORLD

Announces Removal of its Offices

on June 1, 1949

to

510 MADISON AVENUE

New York 22, N. Y.

Revolution on a desk top!

This revolution can free *you*, too! Free you from all the bother and inefficiency of old-style dictation. For this is the Dictaphone TIME-MASTER Revolution.

The streamlined TIME-MASTER is the electronic dictating machine practical businessmen are talking about—and talking *to*. Men who get things done take to the TIME-MASTER and its plastic MEMOBELT record—naturally.

And men who use the TIME-MASTER naturally get things done! Because the TIME-MASTER is so easy to use . . . is always instantly ready to catch your thoughts and take your dictation on a MEMOBELT that guarantees voice-perfect recording and reproduction, faster, pleasanter transcription. Because it helps you get much more done, much more easily, in less time and at less cost!

Only the Dictaphone TIME-MASTER offers all this:

- Uniformly clear recording and reproduction!
- Easily mailable, filable plastic belt records!
- Streamlined design! All-metal sturdiness!
- Uniform backspacing, rapid place finding!
- Foolproof simplicity of operation!
- Dictaphone dependability, nationwide service!

For a TIME-MASTER demonstration, call your local Dictaphone representative or fill in coupon.

DICTAPHONE
Electronic Dictation

Only Dictaphone Corporation makes Dictaphone* Machines
(*Reg. U. S. Pat. Off.)

Dictaphone Corporation
International Department
420 Lexington Ave., N. Y. 17, N. Y.

☐ Please show me the new TIME-MASTER.
☐ Please send TIME-MASTER literature.

Your Name_____

Company_____

Street Address_____

City & Zone_____ State_____

"See the minutes ...how they run"

—William Shakespeare
"King Henry VI," Part III, Act II

Even in Shakespeare's time the value of each minute was considered important. Today, more than ever, the productive value of each minute has been multiplied many times.

To realize the full value of these minutes, modern business demands accurate, economical, flexible means for accounting, for typewriting, for time indicating, recording, and signaling. By providing this means, IBM equipment makes possible efficient administrative control in businesses, industries, and institutions of all types and sizes.

For more information on IBM products and their applications to your business, contact your nearest IBM branch office or write to the address below.

IBM

INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS MACHINES CORPORATION

World Headquarters Building, 590 Madison Avenue, New York 22, New York

TOWARD ONE WORLD

TWO WHEAT COUNTRY CITIES

Orléans and Wichita

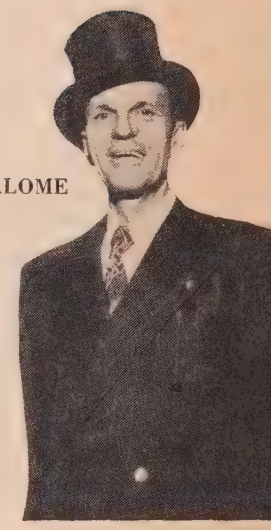
PROMOTE UNDERSTANDING BY TRADING MAYORS

MR. JEAN FALAIZE
Orleans-Wichita

From Kansas to France

WICHITA (pop. 114,966) is in Kansas, a wheat town. Some 3,500 miles eastward is Orléans, France (pop. 77,000), also the center of a wheat growing district. In early May the distance between the towns was shortened, though the miles may measure as before. For Deputy Mayor of Orléans, Jean Falaize, MD. 44, and Wichita's mayor, William C. Salome, 52, exchanged jobs—each leaving his native country for the first time. In New York they met, and got on—the drawling Kansan, the quick-spoken Frenchman. One assured the other (in English) that at each city eager crowds would welcome him, make him feel at home.

This novel switch of mayors was sponsored by Operation Democracy, 369 Lexington Ave., New York. Funds came from the Kansas Commission for UNESCO. At the end of two weeks the mayors returned home. But exchange of citizens, cultures and friendship will continue between the peoples of Wichita and Orléans—and possibly neighboring towns already interested in the same kind of plan.



M. WILLIAM C. SALOME
Wichita-Orleans

ONE-WORLD INTELLIGENCE

AN EXHIBITION to refute and combat racism by scientific methods is showing at the Vienna Museum of Natural History under the slogan "Humanity—One Family." Backed by the Austrian Ministry of Education, the exhibition shows the anthropological, medical, cultural and political aspects of the race question by displays and a series of lectures and films.

16-YEAR-OLD MAYOR of the Children's Village at Dobbs Ferry, New York, John Finnerty, is touring Europe to study the problems of displaced children. In Paris he conferred with Dr. Jaime Torres Bodet, Dir. Gen. of UNESCO, which itself has taken steps to promote closer contact between various towns and villages set up for handicapped children throughout the world.

11,000 DOLLARS for peace through lectures. Donor, Leo Silver, New York, who believes that public interest "must be stimulated to lead the way over the present barriers of suspicion and distrust. . . ." Columbia University's School of International Affairs will administer the fund.

11 CENTS for peace through postage. International Reply Coupons have been established "currency" among members of the Universal Postal Union, could be bought for a dime and a penny or their equivalent in any member post office and exchanged for equal value of postage in any other. Until recently, however, they have not been good for airmail postage. Now begins the Air-Age Neighbor Movement to promote use of the coupons for world understanding. Procedure: The movement persuades a group in the United States to exchange correspondence—and coupons—with a like group overseas—Boy Scout Troop 16 of Madison, Wisconsin, now uses the coupons for air mail in its program of communication with a blind scout troop in Paris; Troop 16 leaders are also now using air communication with scout leaders in Indonesia.

Original Air-Age Neighbors: Howard Kurtz (World War II flyer who knows how small the air world is) and his wife Harriet. 67-65 Fleet Street, Forest Hills, New York.

OLDEST UNIVERSITY, Bologna in Italy, founded in 1088, and severely damaged during the war, will be rehabilitated, according to plans of an American Committee. An endowment fund established by Cesare Barbieri, 340 Park Ave., New York, will buy building materials, books and equipment to reconstruct and modernize the university.

Standard Oil Company (New Jersey) Reports for 1948...

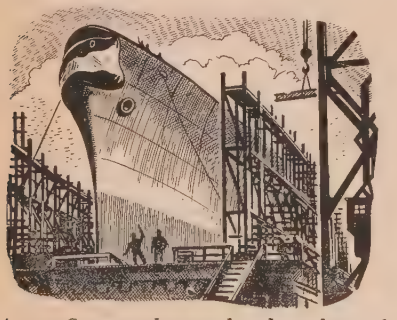
A year of Progress and Results for an Oil-using World!..

OIL SHORTAGE FEARS of a year ago have vanished. All around the world, oil resources are expanding. In doing their part to meet the rising needs for oil, this Company and its affiliates last year made the greatest efforts in their history. Here are some facts from this Company's Annual Report to its more than 200,000 stockholders . . .

1 TOTAL PRODUCTION AGAIN INCREASED. After setting new records in both 1946 and 1947, this Company and affiliates in 1948 increased crude oil production by 8% over the year before. Output of crude oil by our domestic affiliates represented 9% of the total crude produced in the U.S. Output of affiliates, world-wide, represented 14% of world production.

More wells drilled than ever before. Proved reserves increased

2 SEARCH FOR NEW OIL SOURCES SET RECORDS. More wells were drilled than ever before. Costs for this were a record $374,000,000 in 1948. Proved reserves in the earth at year's end were at a new high.



14 new Supertankers ordered, each nearly twice the size of wartime tankers

3 EVEN GREATER COSTS FOR EXPANSION AND REPLACEMENT were again required to meet rising needs for oil. Jersey Standard and affiliates spent a record $529,415,000 in 1948, even more than 1947's investment of 426 millions. For these needs and payment of dividends, money again was drawn from earnings, from borrowing, from sale of assets, and from further call on savings of past years.

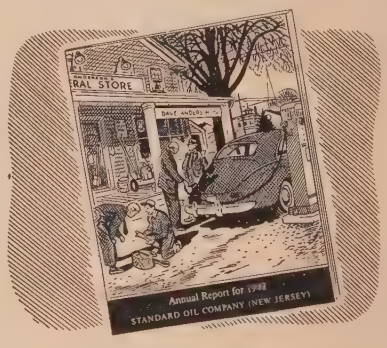
4 NEW FACILITIES RESULTED ALL OVER THE OIL-PRODUCING WORLD. In Venezuela, the world's largest pipeline was completed. Fourteen new supertankers were ordered, each nearly twice the capacity of wartime tankers. At Montreal and Edmonton in Canada; at Billings, Montana; Linden, New Jersey; and Baton Rouge, Louisiana, new refining facilities for more and better oil products went into service. At Amuay, Venezuela, a new 60,000 barrels per day refinery neared completion.

New facilities like this modern refinery help increase oil supplies

5 RELATIONS WITH EMPLOYEES CONTINUED EXCELLENT. Again there were no domestic strikes or work stoppages. At year's end the gross investment in property, plant and equipment amounted to $26,600 for each of the 129,000 employees of Jersey and its affiliated companies.

6 BOTH INCOME AND EXPENDITURES ROSE. As reported in the consolidated statement, total income of all companies was $3,332,187,000, an increase of 40% over 1947. At the same time, costs were also up 40%. $1,386,248,000 was paid for crude oil and other supplies, $573,459,000 paid to employees, $492,000,000 for other operating costs. Taxes of $268,000,000 were paid.

7 RECORD NET EARNINGS, LARGELY PLOUGHED BACK. Consolidated net earnings totaled $365,605,000. Yet this total, plus affiliates' earnings assignable to stockholders other than Jersey, plus all of the year's depreciation allowances was just about equal to the amount of money put back into the business to meet pressing needs for expansion and replacements. Stockholders of Standard Oil Company (N.J.) received dividends of $2.00 per share of the Company's stock, plus a stock dividend of two shares for each 40 shares held.



For copies of the full report write Room 1626, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N. Y.

ALTHOUGH world oil consumption for the year increased 6.5%, and U.S. consumption 5.6% . . . the need was met and more. Threatened shortages were averted. Proved reserves in the earth are greater than ever before. New, modern facilities for meeting present and future needs are coming into operation throughout the world. Increasingly, human progress calls for more and more oil. In every way, the year 1948 was a year of progress and results for an oil-using world.

The better you live, the more oil you use!

STANDARD OIL COMPANY (NEW JERSEY)
AND AFFILIATED COMPANIES

Senator Brien McMahon calls on America:

Let's Tell The Atom Bomb Story

BY INFORMING EVERYBODY HOW EAGER THE US IS TO TURN ITS BOMBS OVER TO THE UN, RUSSIA CAN BE SET BACK, OTHER NATIONS CHEERED AND AGREEMENT FOR ATOMIC CONTROL BROUGHT NEARER

I WAS delighted when the Berlin issue was brought close to settlement. However, I refused to go on a three-day celebration for an event which has not, to my mind, materially improved our prospects for peace. The lifting of the Berlin blockade is encouraging indeed. But I contend that the greatest and most heartening step toward peace would be Russia's decision to lift her blockade on the international control of atomic energy.

Control of atomic energy is the outstanding issue of our time. This issue cannot be decided in the almost haphazard manner with which, for example, the blockade of Berlin was terminated.

Peace will remain in precarious balance as long as the UN stalemate on the international control of atomic energy persists. This stalemate cannot be broken by normal diplomatic means. The only hope left is to embark upon a bold and imaginative educational campaign on a global scale.

If we could have an airlift of information and education to the people of Eastern Europe particularly, we would celebrate a genuine victory in our fight for peace.

In the straining of the peoples toward that peace, I do not claim that Americans are without fault. But I do claim that their record in the war and postwar years would justify a greater effort to bring the American story to the attention of the world. The fate of mankind may depend upon our success in this venture.

For Law, Propaganda and Science

United States Senator McMahon is, at 45, a man fully capable of encompassing contradictions. He is, for example, simultaneously and ardently a Connecticut Yankee and Democrat. Moreover, though a lawyer, he functions efficiently as chairman of the Senate-House committee which oversees the work of the US Atomic Energy Commission. It is in the latter capacity that Senator McMahon wrote the article on these pages for UN WORLD.

Let's Tell the Atom Bomb Story *continued*

And yet, we have not even begun this vital task. I doubt seriously whether one Russian in a hundred, or one European in ten, is aware of the fact that the US has offered to give up the atomic bomb, to relinquish its atomic secrets and to admit foreign inspectors inside its borders. By means of such diverse censorship as refusing to permit international inspection of atomic energy and jamming Voice of America broadcasts, the Kremlin has shown that it fears truth more than it fears atomic weapons.

Perhaps one key to peace would be to invite the UN to establish its own broadcasting stations throughout the world to bring uncensored and unimpeded the story of this international organization as it unfolds within the councils of the UN. It would then be possible for the peoples of the world to assess the position of the United States of America, as well as that of the Soviet Union, and to sit as jurors on the merits and demerits of their respective claims.

I am not afraid of the reciprocity involved in this broadcasting system. Soviet propaganda is megaphoned all over the world. It seems to me that the arguments of our democracy are so much more powerful than those of the Soviet system, that we should invite rather than shun free inquiry and open debate. I would gladly meet Mr. Vyshinsky (who did me the courtesy of denouncing me as a warmonger two years ago) on any program on the air, because I am ready to take my chances. I wish that the Russian people were allowed to take theirs.

But before this great educational campaign can be waged with any hope of success, we in this country have to reach an all-important decision. For some time now I have been preoccupied with the question of whether or not the American people, and their Congress, as well as the peoples of the world should be told the size of our atomic stockpile.

As one who is in close daily touch with the Atomic Energy Commission, I have the feeling that it is making splendid progress. I am indeed comforted by that feeling. The fact, however, remains that a major function of the Commission is surrounded with complete secrecy—a condition which has crucial consequences for both our domestic and foreign policies.

We have erected in our midst a most unusual province. It is a new American phenomenon that a governmental activity of this magnitude, financed by public funds and vitally affecting the interests and the very lives of the people, must be concealed from our own 150 million Americans and the rest of the world.

The need to preserve that secrecy is not the fault of the Commission. Nor is it the fault of the US that it spends many millions of dollars per year on the construction of atomic bombs. Rather, the fault is to be found in a series of tragic failures in international diplomacy, with the result that for our own security we have to use our atomic piles for bombs rather than for applying atomic energy exclusively to peacetime purposes.

I was never one of those who believe in Sunday supplement articles, according to which every one of us would run our automobiles on atomic energy within a few years. There are still very obdurate obstacles to surmount before this can be achieved, if only to shield human beings from the effects of lethal rays. But there is no doubt in my mind that we would be further ahead in bringing to mankind the good that lies in this tremendous force, had we been more successful at Lake Success.

THE QUESTION: TO TELL EVERYBODY—OR TELL NOBODY

To overcome this stalemate, I believe that it will serve the interests of both the US and the rest of the world to consider—earnestly and objectively—the arguments for and against telling the full story of our efforts to control the atom bomb.

The Constitution stipulates that Congress shall be responsible for raising and maintaining the armed forces of the US. But how can Congress properly legislate in this field if it is kept in the dark about the status of our atomic power? We do not know whether our atomic inventory is sufficient for a small or for a large army. It thus becomes impossible to determine whether we should decrease or increase taxes, whether we should introduce or abolish universal military training, whether we can pledge to the American people greater or less security, whether we should appropriate more or less money for the new giant bombers of the Air Force.

Should it turn out that notwithstanding our superior technology we have only very few bombs, other nations, lacking our scientific and industrial equipment, would realize the hopelessness of trying to compete with the US. On the other hand, if we have many bombs and we maintain secrecy about their manufacture, others could profit from the same kind of secrecy to try to match our stockpile.

The arguments I can offer in favor of disclosure of this secret information are manifold. Certainly, our very efforts toward international control are handicapped by secrecy.

Moreover, there is a certain psychological advantage in disclosure, for any potential enemy might be restrained in his aggressive designs if he knows how much punishment there is in store for him.

I realize that there are many arguments against disclosure—arguments of equal or perhaps greater weight. Because of the controversial nature of this issue I suggest that our people, our Congress and our Executive department ponder long and hard the implications of disclosure to enable us to arrive at a wise decision.

But whatever the argument, the question of total secrecy in connection with the atomic bomb was dealt a fatal blow when the greatest military secret of them all, namely, its very existence, was exploded over Hiroshima. "Hush" is a very powerful word. It feeds on itself.

Our foreign policy in the past few years has promoted the economic reconstruction of Western Europe, and today it envisages a military alliance of the Western democracies.

But we have to go beyond this. Only when men and women throughout the world have access to authentic information can they mobilize those moral forces which can prevent our civilization from being destroyed. Our part in this task is clear.

We must tell the story of atomic energy to all the world, and why it is vital that mankind succeed in controlling it.

FACED WITH STARVATION AT HOME AND HATRED ABROAD

JAPANESE MEN AND WOMEN, IN LOVE OR LONELINESS OR FEAR,

ARE FATHERING AND BEARING EVER MORE INFANTS

TO SHAME THE WORLD BY DYING OR DISTRESS IT MORE BY LIVING

Japan's New Live Weapon

The tender bodies of millions of babies

BY DENIS WARNER
Reuters and Australian Associated Press Correspondent

TOKYO: Genjuro Watanabe is, as his name implies, the tenth child of the Watanabe family and he lives in the village of Sengokuhara 60 miles from the city of Tokyo. The day I first met him, Genjuro was playing hopscotch on the muddy path outside his house, his younger sister asleep on his back, head bobbing to her brother's jumps. He watched shyly as our jeep pulled up and smiled a grubby grin when we gave him a bar of chocolate. Later, he came to the door of his parents' house with half a dozen of his black-haired, well-behaved brothers and sisters while we sipped tea with Farmer Watanabe and his wife.

The smoke curled up from the open fire in the middle of the Watanabes' main room, a black iron kettle simmered at the end of a soot-encrusted bamboo pole, and along the low, wooden beams of the roof the dried persimmons and corn cobs, too, were grimy with smoke.

Beyond the worn and torn tatami at one side of the room was a small room where five-year-old Genjuro and four of his brothers and sisters slept. Up a rickety ladder was a low attic, the privileged quarters of the older children. That was all.

I have seen a lot of Genjuro since. We were old friends of the summer: we exchanged smiles and friendship and occasional gifts when my wife called on the Watanabes with baby garments, the signal that yet another carp may fly from the house masthead when boys' day comes around again.

Not far from the Watanabes, the Tanakas also have a Genjuro and the Matsuis, who have nine children and a still young wife won't be far behind, I am sure.

Here in little Sengokuhara, where the bright green hills hide Fuji the better to show their own beauty, you come face to face with all these Genjuros and Japan's worst, if least publicized problem: overpopulation.

In three years since the war the Japanese have produced 7,500,000 children, more than 10 percent of the 1945 population. The figure is almost exactly equal to the total population of Australia, one of Japan's least forgiving former enemies. Between dawn and sunset today 3,610 new babies will have arrived to join the Genjuros; Japan's population will have increased by about 2,940.

Experts at General MacArthur's Research and Programs Division say they expect the population to reach 100,000,000 by 1970; but that it could reach that figure within 12 years and by 1970, at the current rate of increase, would total more than 110,000,000.

That this problem overshadows all the reforms of the Occupation, most of General MacArthur's senior advisors freely admit.

Japan would find an additional 20

Japan's New Live Weapon *continued*

or 30 millions of population catastrophic. And so would other countries of the Pacific, which while welcoming Japan's development as a stable pillar of democracy in the Far East, fear the issues that may be raised by her unlimited growth.

The paradox of occupied Japan is that while this is known and understood, it alone of the multitudinous problems that confront General MacArthur, has remained untouched. The Watanabes and Tanakas and Matsuis are subject to heavy penalty if they retain too much corn to dry in their smoke-filled houses; their contribution to the overpopulation of the country is entirely their own concern.

It is by no means certain that the problem is soluble by General MacArthur or by anyone. Two possible solutions—emigration and birth control—appear obvious. Neither, however, is acceptable. Tentative emigration proposals have already drawn heated opposition from Australia, New Zealand and the Netherlands. Birth control is almost a forbidden subject in the influential Catholic world. "For General MacArthur to give even the slightest comfort or assistance to advocates of birth control would result in his immediate recall and discharge," one of his senior officers told me. "For the Occupation, birth control is, and must be, out."

Two other partial alleviations of the problems have been explored by General MacArthur's Natural Resources Section. Lieut. Col. H. G. Schenck, who heads this important Occupation work, believes that the northern, comparatively underpopulated island of Hokkaido could obsorb between 5 and 6 million Japanese, and that some of the unsettled uplands of the main island of Honshu could take another million. Further industrialization would also draw into less fecund urban work some of the excessive rural populaton, and would in its turn provide its own payment for food imports.

Plans for the closer settlement of Hokkaido have been drawn up and one day, not in the near future, will be put into operation. No scheme for settlement of Honshu's uplands has gone beyond the most tentative stage. Industrialization beyond the 1930-34 level is prohibited by direction of the Far East Commission.

Emigration, if practicable a far more adequate solution, is attended by difficulties beyond those already raised by the Allied Powers. Shipping, for instance, is a major problem. Five million Japanese returned to their homeland from Manchuria, the Pacific and China in 1945 and 1946, but by far the greater number of these had a homeward voyage of only a couple of days, against a ten-day trip to New Guinea. Also the United States Navy's wartime fleet would not be available now.

FAR-OFF NEW GUINEA, THE GARDEN OF PARADISE

This has not deterred many Japanese from day-dreaming of Utopia. Recently an *Oriental Economist* writer revealed the depth of Japanese research into New Guinea. The writer expressed the opinion—subsequently confirmed by experts at General MacArthur's headquarters — that Dutch New Guinea, populated now by an estimated 200,000 natives, could support at least 20 million Japanese. Part of the information was based on Japanese wartime surveys; part on the knowledge of Japanese exploiters who before the war worked the cotton and hemp concessions near Geelvink Bay on the north coast of Dutch New Guinea with considerable agricultural and financial success.

Because of the exigencies of war later Japanese surveys of Dutch New Guinea lacked detail, but were sufficient to give a rough indication of the country's vast natural resources. Japanese geological surveys resulted in the installation of three oil wells at Klamono, near the western tip of the island, and further surveys to the north revealed the possibility of other rich fields. The Pacific Lumber Company was also busy, its surveys revealing an almost inexhaustible supply of first-grade timbers.

The *Hochi Shimbun*, in an editorial on Dec. 3, 1948, also named migration as the solution for Japan's population problems. "There is *no* alternative for Japan except to send her surplus population to the four corners of the world," the paper said.

Still under the influence of expansionist propaganda, the Japanese have paid little attention to the possibility of birth control. It is commonly accepted that the country is physically incapable of supporting a greater population. Only 16 million acres are currently used for food production. Full utilization of Hokkaido and some of the undeveloped uplands might raise the total cultivable area to 20 million acres, but the extra four million would be low in production.

Despite these known excess millions, the militaristic policy of the country demanded more and more population. The National Eugenic Law, which became effective in July 1941, had as its primary objective an average of five children to each family and the increase of the population of Japan proper to 100,000,000 by 1951. Subsidies and other assistance were promised to persuade men to marry at 25; women at 21 had a procreative period of about 20 years.

The Japanese people needed little encouragement. They like children. Ruth Benedict in *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword*, says: "Japanese parents need children, not alone for emotional satisfaction, but because they have failed in life if they have not carried on the family line. Every Japanese man must have a son. He needs him to do daily homage to his memory after his death at the living-room shrine. . . .

"A woman too wants children. . . . A childless wife has a most insecure position in the family, and even if she is not discarded she can never look forward to being a mother-in-law and exercising authority over her son's wife."

The Occupation has not changed this Japanese fundamentalism. The customs, religions, beliefs, wishes, desires, and way of life of the people remain as they were. Thus you find newspapers concluding that emigration is the *only* solution to the population problem, simply because the idea of limiting births would not occur to the average Japanese.

The birth rate averaged the high figure of 31.7 a thousand in the years before the Japanese Government began its population drive. In 1947 it reached a peak of 34.8—the highest ever recorded, remaining about the same level in 1948. At the same time, deaths for 1948 were the lowest in the history of Japan—down from the 1947 figure of 14.8 a thousand to about 12.

I have so far confined this report to figures based on Occupation docu-

WARM, SOFT, DOLL-LIKE CREATURES—THE JOY OF THEIR PROLIFIC PARENTS, THE WORLD'S HEADACHE

ments and estimates. But, as it is from the Japanese that primary action will have to come in any attempt to solve the population problem, their statistics as well as their views cannot be neglected.

A year ago the Population Problem Research Institute, previously complacent, suddenly became seriously concerned with the possible results of the country's expanding population. The Institute had predicted that Japan's population would not total 80 million until 1949 at the earliest. When the population exceeded this figure at the beginning of June, 1948, the Institute issued revised estimates. It now says: The population will be at least 87,600,000 by 1953, the final year of the current Five Year Economic Plan for the restoration of industry to the 1930-34 level; it will undoubtedly reach 90 million by 1955, probably earlier.

Dr. Ayanori Okazaki, who heads the Institute, believes that birth control, emigration to Hokkaido and the development of industry to produce more exports with which to buy food from abroad are the answers. Occupation officials call this over-simplification.

I asked Colonel Schenck, of Natural Resources Section, and Maj. Gen. W. F. Marquat, head of Economic and Scientific Section, what would be the effect on Japan if by 1970 the population totaled 100,000,000.

Colonel Schenck replied: "The food problem would be impossible. With maximum reclamation of land and closer settlement it will not be possible to find food in Japan for more than 20 per cent of the increase."

General Marquat handed the question to Kenneth Morrow, acting chief of his Research and Programs Division, but issued the resulting study in his own name. Without doubt it is the most important population statement ever made by a senior member of the Occupation. He made it abundantly clear that the Far East Commission directive restricting Japan's production level to the 1930-34 base period would have to go—and quickly—or that all of Washington's plans for the restoration of Japan as the "Workshop of the Far East" faced certain disaster.

"For Japan to import great quantities of staple food necessary to feed a population of 100,000,000 would require a level of foreign trade of a minimum of one and one half times the maximum prewar levels and a production almost twice the level of the 1930-34 base period," he said. "Such a volume of production is roughly equal to Japan's peak wartime effort of 1941." The words "peak wartime" were underlined by General Marquat. There was but one way for Japan to attain such levels and that was through a stable, peaceful world, trading commodities at a rate higher than had heretofore been witnessed, he said. It would require, also, a well-rounded industrial econ-

Japan's New Live Weapon *continued*

omy with textiles virtually at prewar levels and with all other industry at early wartime levels.

"It should be pointed out that such levels at this time do not appear impossible, although they do appear improbable," General Marquat added. "Japan today has many obvious weaknesses, most important of which is its total dependence upon foreign trade. Japan is nevertheless a very strong nation. Japan ranks with the first ten nations of the world. . . . The most significant shortages are foods, petroleum, high-grade iron ore, high-grade coking coal and textile fibers, and these are obtainable only as the result of a high volume of foreign trade, which, in turn, requires a high level of production."

There, officially from General MacArthur's right hand man, is the picture. Yet apart from a few birth control advocates whose activities are largely suspect, emigration continues the only real Japanese approach to the problem.

Non-Japanese spokesmen for the same cause include influential men. Some are:

■ Mr. William Teeling, Conservative member of a British Parliamentary delegation which visited Japan late in 1947.

■ Colonel McCormick, of the Chicago *Tribune*, who declared that Japan should be granted New Guinea for migration purposes when he visited Tokyo in 1947.

■ Rev. Edmund Walsh, S.J., Vice-President of Georgetown University, who emphasized in a series of articles in the *Nippon Times* that an "outlet" for Japan's surplus population should be provided.

■ Hon. Joseph C. Grew, former US Ambassador to Tokyo, who said on April 19, 1948, that the Japanese should be given the right of emigration and naturalization.

■ Cardinal Spellman of New York, who on June 10, 1948, at a press conference in Tokyo indicated that there were still many regions which could absorb large numbers of Japanese.

Advocates of emigration refer to Hawaii, where Japanese became first-class American citizens and showed their loyalty to their new country by their valor on European battlefronts.

Pointing specifically to the map of New Guinea in his office, one official at GHQ in Tokyo said: "This land is not used and those who possess it now have no intention of turning it to any use. To me, this is a United Nations problem of the utmost importance. Australia, for instance, holds its part of New Guinea only under mandate. Why should she not be instructed that color bars be forgotten there? I don't suggest that New Guinea should be flooded with Japanese. I do suggest that it could be colonized and with great advantage to the world by Orientals of many races. Say you took only five million Japanese in five years—somewhere, somehow the shipping could be found—you would have a breathing space to take some positive action in population control here. You would have a new source of world foodstuffs. You would have done something to harness for man's use the untapped resources of the world, resources for which all humanity today has urgent need."

AMG WON'T SPONSOR BIRTH CONTROL MEASURES

But no one I have spoken to believes the United Nations will really take action to populate underpopulated areas. Almost no one believes Australia, or the Netherlands, or Brazil or any other country would permit mass Japanese migration to their territories. Few believe that General MacArthur's Headquarters, or the Japanese or US Governments will find outlets for the surplus population, or that shipping could be found to transport the 1.75 millions by which each year the numbers of Japanese are increasing at this moment.

There is even less hope for birth control. The Occupation will not end in the foreseeable future. And it is taken for granted that there will be no national birth control program while it remains. Since the reader scanned the headlines of this article the population of Japan will have increased by about another hundred. And so it will go on, hundred by hundred, thousand by thousand, million by million.

What, then, is the solution? Tax people heavily who have more than three children? The Japanese are notorious tax avoiders and people with more than three children would not have enough money to pay higher taxes.

Hope that overpopulation of its own accord will bring about a leveling off of population? This could only mean that Japan's economy could not support the population, that many would be unemployed. Mass unemployment would be an open invitation to Communism. A Communistic Japan would be the final blow to the Western Powers in the East.

Increase export production by greater industrialization and thus earn sufficient foreign exchange to pay for foreign food imports? This is only a very partial solution. And it is not without its own dangers. Japanese production would necessarily have to be much higher than the 1930-34 level fixed by the Far East Commission; it would have to be higher than in the peak war-preparation years. That would make Japan a much stronger nation than the simple "Workshop of Asia" now envisaged. She would be so strong industrially and commercially that a preoccupied America might find it impolitic to discourage what, on humanitarian grounds, might be described as legitimate demands for "breathing space" in the underpopulated "Southern Regions."

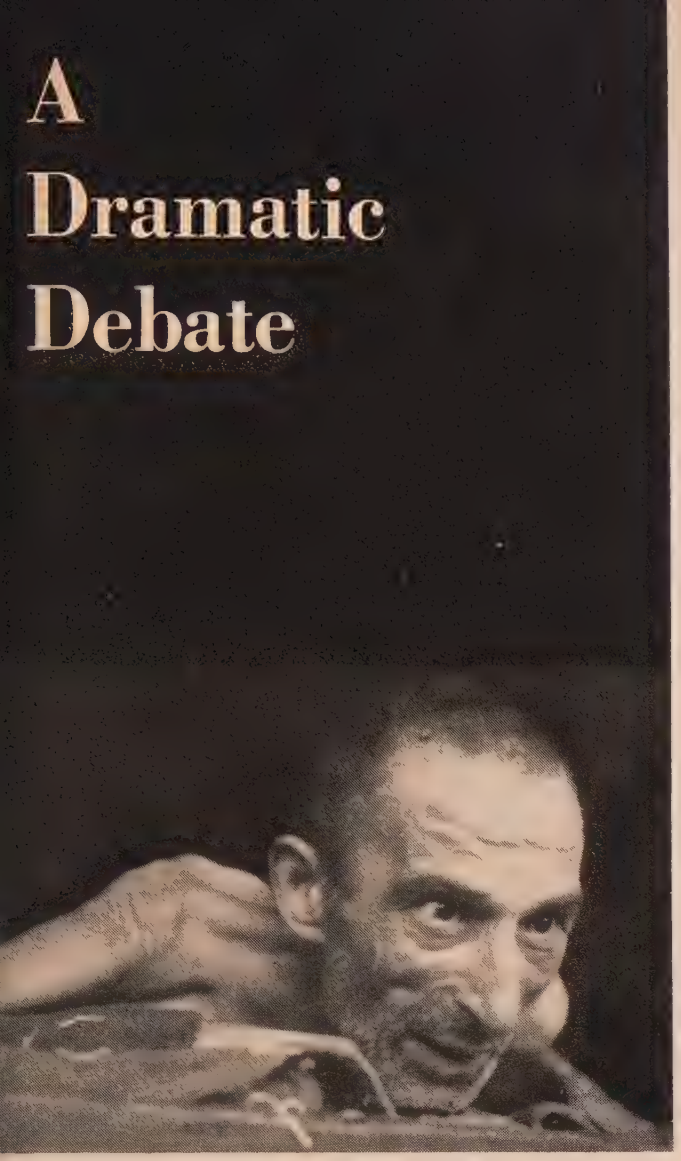
Whether Genjuro Watanabe grows up to be a wizened, stunted home-island Japanese or a fairly well-fed emigrant is the great question facing the Pacific world.

What Romulo thinks

The Philippine Ambassador to the UN has his say about the future of Japan—about the Dutch and Indonesia—the Chinese and other Communists

An exclusive interview on page 58

A Dramatic Debate



The Crime

Genocide is the oldest and blackest of mankind's sins—the destruction or injury of groups of his own kind *because* of their race, nationality, ethnical or religious training. Early men did it in brutish unreason; Ghengis Khan employed it deliberately. Then came Hitler who murdered 6 million Jews and other millions of Poles and Russians. He moved men finally to name and denounce the stain of their heritage. In these pages two eminent and sincere men argue whether the US Senate shall do more than merely denounce.

Should the US Senate Ratify the UN's War on Genocide?

FOR RATIFICATION

James N. Rosenberg

Chairman, United States Committee for a United Nations Genocide Convention

AGAINST RATIFICATION

Frank E. Holman

President, American Bar Association

The Debate on Genocide

The Law

A convention is a compact among nations. To become law in the US, it must be ratified by a two-thirds vote of the Senate. The Editors of UNITED NATIONS WORLD are ardent partisans of ratification. But this does not explain the discrepancy in space devoted here to the arguments for and against a law to punish the crime of genocide. Mr. Rosenberg in New York was able to grant us an interview; Mr. Holman in Seattle was not—but made available a statement which he had formulated earlier.

"This is a matte

James N. Rosenberg

1 ***What was the origin of the United States Committee for a United Nations Genocide Convention?***

In the fall of 1946 the UN General Assembly had unanimously declared genocide to be an international crime and called for a convention—a law—to define it and provide for its prevention and punishment. Thereafter Dr. Rafael Lemkin, originator of the world movement to outlaw genocide, had been driven almost to despair by the hemming and hawing of those who should have been drafting the convention.

In the fall of 1947 Dr. Lemkin came to me for help. I was [he still is—Ed] Chairman of the Human Rights Committee of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, and could see his need. As a lawyer, I could understand what had happened to the convention. Despite Dr.

"A Challenge t

Frank E. Holman

IN THE development of our law and institutions the dignity and independence of the individual has been the keynote of progress. Yet this great heritage of individual rights and freedoms and of liberty under law through a competent and independent judiciary has been undergoing such a change during the last few years that we are about to lose this precious heritage and exchange it for one form or another of collectivism—either the so-called respectable collectivism of state socialism or the less respectable collectivism of Communism. The trend everywhere today, even in the United States, is toward a collectivist society.

The new philosophy in law and government, both at home and abroad, is partly attributable to war reaction and to social and economic problems, but it is being pushed and accelerated by pressure groups who have

or statesmen, not lawyers"

Lemkin's marvelous achievement in winning General Assembly condemnation of genocide only a year before the convention already appeared to be a dead cock in the pit. It looked as if it were being gaffed to death by semantics. Sir Hartley Shawcross, brilliant Attorney General of the United Kingdom, then delegate to the UN, was a leader of those who wanted to send the business of drafting the convention to a not-yet created committee of lawyers. This, I was sure, would mean committee-cide of the convention.

I agreed to do what I could to save it. My first move was to call on Willard Johnson, program director of the NCCJ (now also general secretary of this committee).

I want to give Mr. Johnson special credit for the success we have since had. First he helped obtain the assistance of two fine men: Henry Noble MacCracken, President Emeritus of Vassar College and George N. Shuster, President of Hunter College. Then he arranged to send letters asking the help of Catholic, Protestant and Jewish leaders. One hundred and twenty eight religious leaders signed the petition we drafted demanding a convention against that ancient and most awful of crimes, genocide. They included such figures as Dr. L. A. Weigle, Yale Divinity School and Dr. Walter W. Van Kirk of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ (Protestant); Most Rev. Robert E. Lucey, Archbishop of San Antonio and Most Rev. Joseph Francis Rummel, Archbishop of New Orleans (Catholic); Rabbi Nathan A. Perilman, Temple Emanu-El, and Rabbi David de Sola Pool, Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue, New York (Jewish).

Early in 1948, Dr. MacCracken, Dr. Samuel Cavert, General Secretary of the Federal Council of Churches; Henry A. Atkinson, Chairman of the World Peace Alliance, and Clark M. Eichelberger, Director of the American Association for the United Nations and myself went to Lake Success and presented these petitions to Dr. Charles Malik of Lebanon, Chairman of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations.

We met Dr. Malik in the Delegates' Lounge. There we gave him the plea of the 128 religious leaders, and urged on him that his chairmanship gave him opportunity to undertake a historic service for mankind. I remember that Dr. Malik at first seemed interested primarily in whether Dr. MacCracken was the author of a book which

ndividual liberty under law"

the urge to experiment with new social, political and economic concepts. One grows exceedingly weary of hearing how the so-called individual enterprise system is on trial. On trial for what? Has any other system accomplished so much or provided such standards of living? It is Socialism that is on trial, as in England, and Communism that is on trial as in Russia. It is individual enterprise that is being asked to provide the food, the money and the tools to rebuild Europe. Lawyers should be on guard against the insidious efforts constantly made to discredit a system that has not only been responsible for great growth and progress in our country, but is so strong and virile that it is at this very time underwriting and sustaining the shattered economies of Europe.

Not only in individual countries but in the international field and in the United Nations Organization social and economic pressure groups, acting ostensibly in the interest of world peace, are sponsoring programs fundamentally at variance with our traditional concept of individual liberty under law.

An examination of the program presented to the U. N. Assembly for approval of a so-called International Bill of Rights discloses an extraordinary scheme for world collectivism. Both the proposed Covenant and the Declaration on Human Rights, as actually passed by the Assembly last December, are revolutionary documents so far as our concept of rights is concerned. The proposal to implement the provisions of the Covenant by and through an International Court on Human Relations is most revolutionary and will inevitably result in an interference with the domestic law and policy of member states and hence result in international frictions and irritations and not contribute to world peace. Whether we know it or not or whether we like it or not we are witnessing the birth of an entirely new concept in the field of law and government in this country.

Before the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was passed by the General Assembly of the United Nations in Paris last December, the American Bar Association asked for time to permit adequate study of the final draft of the Declaration. In November, as President, I wrote the Secretary of State in Paris and thereafter wrote and cabled Mr. John Foster Dulles and Senator

James N. Rosenberg *continued*

'This is a matter for statesmen, not lawyers'

he remembered fondly from his student days. It was a brief meeting, unplanned and informal, but Dr. Malik caught the spark of our enthusiasm. Soon thereafter an intergovernmental United Nations committee of representatives of seven nations was formed to draft the convention. This group, aided indefatigably by Dr. Lemkin, got down to work without legalistic bumbling to prepare a convention draft for presentation to the General Assembly.

We then formed a Genocide Committee and set out to gain the support of the common people of the world for adoption of the convention. Our group was composed of Messrs. Lemkin, Johnson, Eichelberger, Shuster, Atkinson, Cavert, MacCracken, Benjamin Abrams, President of Emerson Radio Co.; Roger N. Baldwin, the International League for the Rights of Man; James B. Carey, CIO: Thomas Mahoney, Catholic Association for International Peace; Clarence Pickett, American Friends Service Committee; Raymond S. Rubinow; Matthew Woll, AFL; the Reverend Edward V. Cardinal, the Bishop Sheil School of Social Studies; Mrs. William Dick Sporborg, and Mildred Burgess, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. Religion, labor, industry, law, united in a common purpose.

This same group now serves as the United States Committee for a United Nations Genocide Convention and to it has been added a distinguished Legal Advisory Committee. Its members are A. A. Berle, Jr., formerly Assistant Secretary of State and now Chairman of the Committee of International Law of the New York City Bar Association; General William J. (Fighting Bill) Donovan; Allen W. Dulles, of Sullivan and Cromwell; Charles Fahy, formerly legal adviser to the U. S. State Department; Robert P. Patterson, ex-Secretary of War and now President of the Bar Association of the City of New York, former Judge Joseph M. Proskauer; Wesley A. Sturgis, Yale Law School Dean; Harrison Tweed, of Milbank, Tweed, Hope and Hadley.

A year ago our Committee got very busy. We put ourselves in touch with world leaders. One hundred and sixty six organizations in 28 countries representing 250 million human beings joined in our petition asking the General Assembly to adopt a Genocide Convention. The voice of the civilized world was heard.

By September, in good time for presentation to the General Assembly in Paris, we had those petitions ready. Public opinion can be decisive in world affairs. When

Frank E. Holman *continued*

'A Challenge to individual liberty under law'

Arthur Vandenberg asking that before final action in Paris the United States delegation should request sufficient time for the American people to be advised of what was being approved in their behalf. The answer was in substance that if the American people and American lawyers would think of the Declaration as analogous to our own Declaration of Independence, then they would not be disturbed, because our Declaration of Independence was only a declaration of principles and not intended to be a legal document. This was not a reassuring answer. What possible analogy there can be between a "declaration of independence" which originated with the people themselves as a declaration of principles for which they were ready to fight and die and a declaration in the form of a legislative fiat by an assembly in Paris assuming to act for the people of this country without their knowledge or consent would be difficult to explain. When the Declaration was passed last December in Paris there was no copy of the final draft available in this country. I was advised that not even the State Department of our own government had a final copy in this country of a document which as to our basic American rights is nebulous and ambiguous and the latter portion of which sets up a collectivist concept of government for all the peoples of the world, including ourselves.

We now discover that the sponsors of the Declaration are proposing that it should be implemented in large part during the next few months by a Covenant to be ratified as a treaty and further implemented by and through the organization of International Courts. This program of implementation which (according to the State Department's presently announced time schedule) is to be pushed through in the next few months contemplates the organization of a whole system of new International Criminal Courts whereby not only individuals (both private citizens and public officials), but also cities, countries and states in this country may be complained against not only by individuals and pressure groups in the United States but by individuals and pressure groups in Russia or any other country, and thus brought before an International Tribunal and tried and punished. It is conceivable that Mr. Vishinsky or Mr. Molotov might be a complainant against the officials of my own State of Washington and even its Courts for having recently sustained the dismissal of three alleged Communist professors from the University of Washington.

Meanwhile, the so-called Genocide Convention as

in Paris last fall, Dr. Lemkin was able to show that organizations representing at least 10 per cent of all the people in the world were behind our program, he had a weapon which no legal quibbling could withstand. In the end the General Assembly unanimously adopted the final draft of the convention—55 to 0, none abstaining; only three nations absent from the meeting.

2 ***What single nation in your opinion contributed most to the result?***

We had strong support from a number of governments and from the UN itself in the person of President Herbert V. Evatt. I think it fair to say, however, that no other nation contributed as did the United States.

Ambassador Warren R. Austin, Mrs. Roosevelt, John Foster Dulles, Robert Lovett, Willard Thorp, Charles Fahy, performed major services in helping win the support of other states. Assistant Secretary of State Ernest A. Gross, chief delegate of the US in the genocide matter, did superb work. So did John Maktos, chairman of the UN committee which drafted the convention.

3 ***What has been your most interesting experience?***

In July of last year I was in England to do what I could to counter the Shawcross opposition to the convention. Undersecretary of State Robert Lovett had written to Lewis Douglas, US Ambassador in London. Mr. Douglas received me at once, though he was then absorbed in the Tito drama, listened closely to my account of the Shawcross difficulties and asked, "What can I do?"

"I want to have a talk with Hector McNeil." The British minister of State was to head the coming UK delegation to the UN General Assembly at Paris.

Ambassador Douglas reached for the telephone. An aide spoke up. "Do you think you ought to become involved in this, sir?" "Get me Hector McNeil," Mr. Douglas said to the telephone operator.

"Hector," he said, "I want you to see James N. Rosenberg, an old friend of mine." The result was instantaneous. "Go to the Foreign Office at 3 o'clock," said the Ambassador.

Mr. McNeil greeted me affectionately. "Any friend of Lew Douglas is a friend of mine. What can I do for you?"

There was danger, I explained, that, if adoption of the genocide convention against man's most heinous crime were postponed and left to the higgling of lawyers, it would never get past the talking stage. The peoples of the earth would be bitter at UN inaction. I deplored the position of Sir Hartley.

"But isn't it a legal problem?" Mr. McNeil inquired.

"This is a matter for statesmen," I countered. "When the barons of England met King John at Runnymede,

passed by the General Assembly will soon be submitted to the United States for ratification as a treaty. What is "genocide?" The word was recently coined by a Yale professor. Translated into simple Anglo-Saxon, it means "race-killing." Under this generality of a coined phrase not only a new international crime is created as against states, but a crime as to persons in their individual or official capacity is also created. It goes without saying that all decent men and women are opposed to any program official or otherwise which contemplates the destruction of a racial group in whole or in part. But out of this generality of the term "genocide" a Pandora's box of individual crimes is to be created. Acts are made punishable which are not only purely domestic in character but public officials as well as private citizens are to be made amenable to International Tribunals for a variety of ill-defined and ambiguous so-called acts of "genocide"—to the extent that the causing of "mental harm" to a member of a group . . . is an act of "genocide."

In some states colored recruitees to the National Guard are segregated but equally cared for and housed. This may nevertheless become an act of genocide since it may be claimed to inflict mental harm on the members of a race, and if it does the state involved and all its public officials may be charged in an international court with having committed an act of genocide. [Article II (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; (c) Deliberately inflicting on the groups conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; Article III (e) Complicity in genocide. Article VI, Persons charged with genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in Article III shall be tried by a competent tribunal of the state in the territory of which the act was committed, or by such international penal tribunal as may have jurisdiction with respect to those contracting parties which shall have accepted its jurisdiction.]

Suppose there occurs again an unfortunate situation in some part of the country as actually occurred with the Negroes in the race riots in Detroit and some years ago occurred in New Orleans in connection with the Italians and as might have occurred during the last war in connection with the Japanese on the west coast, and the city or state authorities attempting to suppress such riots are charged with not having taken adequate measures to protect the racial group involved. These public officials may be charged with "complicity in genocide" and brought to trial as individuals upon complaint by persons or groups in this country or by persons or groups in other countries like Russia. Among other things it is also a part of the crime of genocide to impose measures intended to prevent births within a particular racial group and "complicity in genocide" is also punishable. Therefore, an organization advocating birth control may be punishable in an international court for "complicity."

In all other countries *except the United States* even

James N. Rosenberg *continued*

'This is a matter for statesmen, not lawyers'

did they call in a committee of lawyers to ponder for years over the text of Magna Carta? At Philadelphia in 1787 the Fathers wrote a Constitution. They did not kill the proposed Constitution by the crime of committee-cide. In Paris, we shall count on your statesman's support for the prompt adoption of a genocide convention."

I looked at my watch. I had taken just five minutes of his time. He had offered me half an hour. I rose. "Don't let me keep you from your Tito problems," I remarked. He placed his left hand on my shoulder and grasped my right in his. "You have moved me greatly, Mr. Rosenberg. I am grateful for your visit. I shall not forget what you said." He supported the convention.

4 *What experience has been most exasperating?*

I am not immune to exasperation. I have been aroused to indignation by the leadership of the American Bar Association which opposes not only the Genocide Convention but the entire Universal Declaration of Human Rights of which it is a part.

I take particular issue with Mr. Frank E. Holman who, as President of the Association and as *ex officio* President of the Association's Committee for Peace and Law Through United Nations, has consistently advocated the antediluvian concept that human rights are completely domestic matters with which the UN has no concern. Mr. Holman insists that the protection of human rights "basically . . . relates to internal affairs and not to international matters."

This position I hold to be utterly untenable. If nothing else, the establishment of the United Nations rendered the thesis obsolete.

Look at the UN Charter. The second sentence of the preamble sets as an aim "to rearm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women. . . ."

Look at Article 1. A chief purpose of the UN is "promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion. . . ."

Look at Article 13. The General Assembly, it says, "shall"—not "may"—assist "in the realization of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction . . ." and so on.

Again, repetitively, in Articles 55 and 56 and 62,

Frank E. Holman *continued*

'A Challenge to individual liberty under law'

after the ratification of such a pact or treaty, the state may decide to what extent it will implement the treaty by the passage of national legislation. We are the only country that faces the peculiar legal situation that when a treaty is ratified by our Senate its provisions become a part of the supreme law of the land. Article VI of the Constitution provides that a treaty when ratified becomes "the supreme Law of the Land"—"anything in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the Contrary nothwithstanding." Hence the genocide pact, if ratified, will supersede every city ordinance, every county ordinance, every state law and every state constitution. Because of the peculiar legal situation our government should be first to insist that adequate time and opportunity be given the American people and responsible organizations like the American Bar Association to study the provisions of the Genocide Convention and the proposed Covenant and the program of implementation by and through the organization of international criminal courts.

The message I want to convey is that this whole course of action of the United Nations in passing so-called declarations, covenants and conventions brings us face to face in this country with a new concept in the field of our national law—a concept that is revolutionary in character. The American people are entitled to be adequately advised and they are not being advised by their government, through the State Department or otherwise, of the true content and implication of the proposals. The point is that in this country particularly there should be adequate time for study before the foregoing proposals become part of the supreme law of the land.

Our heritage of individual liberty under law is challenged as never before. It is a far-reaching and insidious challenge. The public everywhere is confused and bewildered because pressure groups are urging their political, social and economic programs under some effective generality or slogan, as, for example, there they claim to be acting in the interest of Social Justice, Human Rights, prevention of "Genocide," the Common Man or in the interest of World Peace. The public is anxious for intelligent leadership, and the lawyers of today owe a duty of leadership as important and as immediate as the profession ever owed at any time in its long history.

It should be pointed out that the basic and traditional American theory of a Bill of Rights is that rights of the people as to their individual freedoms are inalienable and are not subject to legislative fiat. Once a contrary theory is adopted, then any legislative fiat which confers these rights may later withdraw, limit or condition them.

this responsibility of the UN to promote fundamental human rights is set forth.

Our Human Rights Committee in March of this year petitioned Secretary of State Acheson to bring before the UN the prosecution of religious leaders in Hungary, Bulgaria and Romania. That action was taken. On March 17, Secretary Acheson reported to the President and, on May 12, the latter to Congress that: "By its vigorous advocacy of forward steps, the United States maintained (within the United Nations) its position of leadership in the field of human rights and fundamental freedoms."

Evidently Mr. Holman agrees with the Soviet Union and its bloc in holding that persecution of religious groups is none of the business of the UN or the world at large.

Mr. Holman would deny the validity of the Senate's ratification of the Charter which directs the UN to concern itself with basic human rights the world over. He would wipe out all these advances. If another Hitler were to indulge in mass murder, that, says Mr. Holman, is none of the business of the UN. Antediluvian!

Mr. Holman is afraid that ratification of the Genocide Convention will be a dangerous invasion of national and state sovereignty.

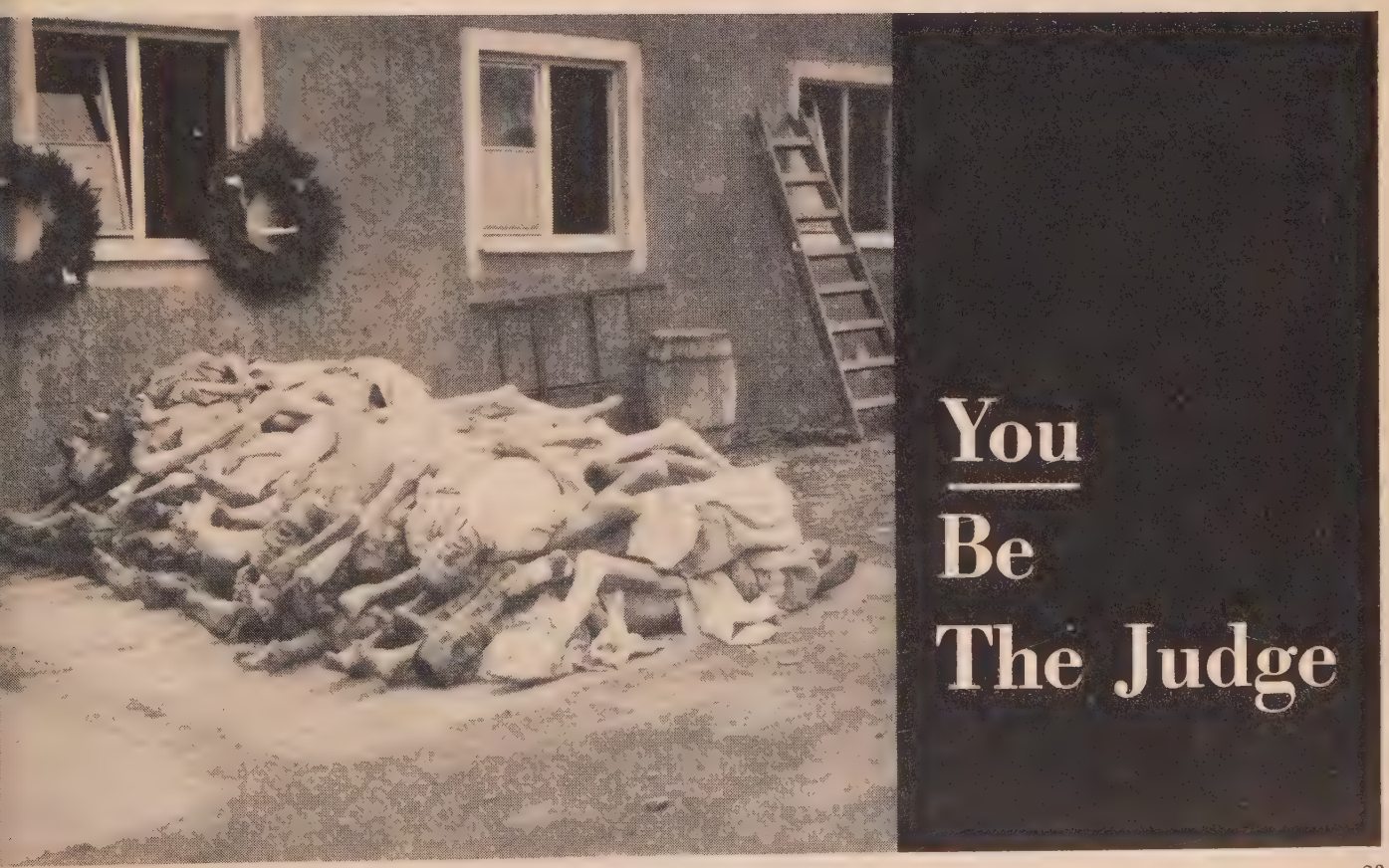
The Genocide Convention is, in fact, only a first step forward. Even after all the member states of the UN ratify it, it will still remain for the United Nations to set up an international tribunal with jurisdiction over genocide. If such a tribunal is created it will still remain for the United States to determine whether to accept jurisdiction of such a court.

5 ***What then do you consider the true significance of the Genocide Convention?***

Even though adoption of the Genocide Convention by the UN is only a first step, it is tremendously important. To the private citizens of the world it shows that, when they—even only 10 in every 100 of them—take active interest in a world problem, the United Nations listens and is influenced. It holds out the promise that, if the decent people of the world become articulate and unite in working hard for peace, petitioning the UN for peace, then real peace may be assured.

To the UN itself the Genocide Convention established that, despite the bitterness which divides East and West on many subjects, unanimity can be achieved on a great human problem. It shows that no nations and no group of nations can afford to align themselves against individual basic rights of human beings or against the peace, welfare and progress of mankind.

I therefore express the fervent hope that those who read this discussion will write their US Senators urging ratification of the Genocide Convention. Your letter to your Senator is your way of helping a great cause.



THE AUTHOR IS SEEN OFF BY A FRIEND

A FACE-TO-FACE SURVEY OF OPINIONS

IN 11 COUNTRIES AND 18 CITIES

VISITED ON A FLYING, NINE-DAY

ROUND-THE-WORLD-INTERVIEW MARATHON

Peace and a Living Wage

The heart's desire of men everywhere

BY A. ALLEN LADD

Special-Status UNW Correspondent

I feel like a man newly reborn, a citizen of the air-age—the one-world world. In 96 hours aloft and a third as many on the ground, I have just flown from New York to New York. It was the greatest emotional and intellectual experience of my life, and it taught me three things about myself: 1—I am no longer merely a New Yorker; 2—By glimpsing that scientifically mystic time-space relationship Dr. Einstein first saw, I came to accept his concept of God as that "superior reasoning power, which is revealed in the incomprehensible universe"; 3—I was, while in the air, utterly devoid of fear.

A. Allen Ladd

I HAVE just returned from a nine-day flying trip around the world on which I interviewed very nearly 400 persons. I learned among much else, that most non-American, non-Communist peoples fear a third world war—but want, above all else, peace. Other than peace, most are concerned with their own affairs—primarily a living wage.

But these men are still not so inward looking that they have not considered whether American women are beautiful nor so uninformed as to assume that Hollywood movies fairly picture the US.

My trip was undertaken to discover what the world's people are thinking and saying. For what men think today, anywhere, is important everywhere.

Where the empires of Alexander, Caesar and Ghengis Khan advanced by horse and foot, today ideas and information move with the speed of electric waves and men themselves may move far more swiftly than the wind. One man can by plane speak face to face with his kind at every port his ship touches and still be gone from his desk scarcely more than a week. My flying time was almost exactly 96 hours.

It was with the idea of obtaining face-to-face expressions of opinion on various pertinent questions that I was sent on this round-the-world spot check, the first in history by airplane.

We had, of course, realized that many of the questions which I proposed to ask had been answered more or less fully by information services, but most of the answers were general and in few cases pretended to represent a fair cross-section of opinion in the countries from which they came.

It was the actual down-to-earth opinions of the man in the street that we wanted—whether informed opinion or not. In fact, we felt that answers which showed lack of information or misinformation could be as significant as any other.

Because many of the questions would take time to answer, we set up a questionnaire and sent copies ahead to representative journalists in the various ports of call to be filled out and picked up by me when I arrived. Pan American World Airways, in whose planes I made the flight, was extremely helpful in distributing these questionnaires and also assisted in enlisting a panel of five persons for me to interview at each airport.

However, I also questioned individuals who flew part of the way with me and others in the few cities where the flight was held up for one reason or another (see log page 26).

At breakfast, the first morning, I met a fellow passenger, Allen W. Dulles, brother of John Foster Dulles, the Republican foreign affairs expert and UN delegate. Mr. Dulles was on a trip to Iran and flew with me as far as Istanbul. On the question of a possible World War III, he made what seemed to me a pertinent and realistic comment: "I don't think there will be a war in the near future—say five years—and anything that can be postponed that long is in the realm of the wholly unpredictable."

When I asked what his attitude was on the question of Asia for the Asiatics, he replied: "Foreign political commotion is on the way out, but they will need us and we them for some time still." He said the Iron Curtain is stopped in Europe, but that a similar curtain with gaps in it may move farther down in Asia. He thought the UN, in view of the Russian opposition and veto, was doing as well as could be expected of it.

Others of Mr. Dulles' answers to the questions asked on my tour are incorporated in the percentage figures table below. Not everyone interviewed was asked all questions, and not all questions asked were answered.

Fewer than 10 per cent of those interviewed, for example, answered the question:

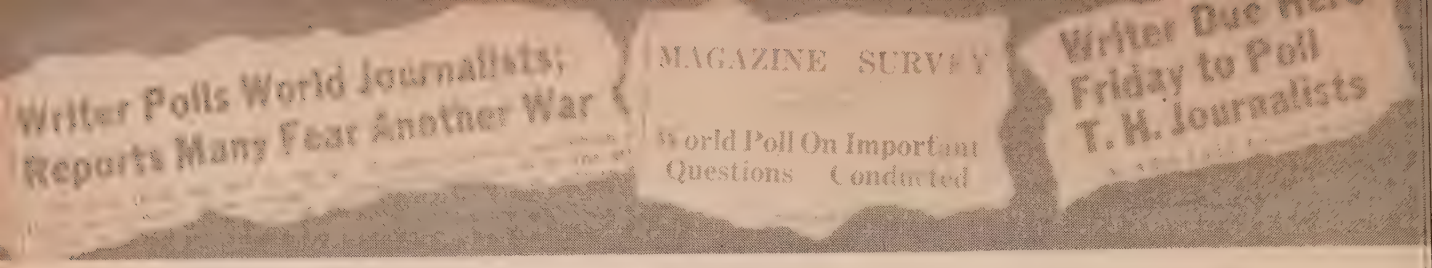
Do you think that after 1952, Europe will need American assistance along the lines of the Marshall Plan, or can Europe by then be self-supporting?

Of those who answered two in England didn't know; two said yes; one

TEN QUESTIONS *that got yes or no answers*

	IN PERCENTAGES	YES	NO
1.	Do you think the world is headed for socialism as practiced, let's say, in Britain?	70	30
2.	Do many people in your country fear so-called American Imperialism?	20	80
3.	Do you consider Communism in your country a serious threat to international welfare, world peace, European peace, Asiatic peace?	5	95
4.	Do you feel that the US is leading the way to world peace?	90	10
5.	What is the attitude locally toward US leadership in world affairs—is it welcomed, recognized, appreciated?	99.5	.5*
6.	Do you feel that the US contributes, in relation to its population and size, to world culture?	80	20
7.	Do you think Hollywood movies represent typical life in the US?	5	95
8.	Do you think American women are attractive?	95	5
9.	Do you think your present administration is doing its best to provide economic security for all?	80	20
10.	Do you ever hear the Voice of America?	5	95

*TWO PERSONS ONLY SAID NO.



Peace and a Living Wage *continued*

no. One in Turkey did not know; two said yes; two said no. Three in Syria said no; one said yes. One in Iraq said yes. Four in India said yes; one said no. Two in Siam said yes. Five in Hongkong said no. Three in Manila said yes; one said no. Five in Honolulu said no.

I was surprised to discover that so few non-American journalists had definite information and opinions on the Marshall Plan. When I asked if they listened to the Voice of America, only 5 per cent said yes, which was another surprise. But the explanation was even more of a jolt. Most of these white-collar journalists couldn't afford radios.

It was obvious, however, that they were well acquainted with American movies and took them just as seriously as many Americans do. Clark Gable and Bing Crosby were their male favorites, Irene Dunne and Hedy Lamarr, the female. Three girls at a cocktail party in Damascus told me giggling, that their favorite male star was Alan Ladd—with only one "l" and of Hollywood, not New York.

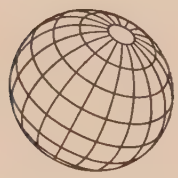
Half of the persons I interviewed were journalists and, even about them, I learned something new. I have myself worked as a journalist in India and other parts of the Orient and I had the illusion that journalists everywhere were much like their American and European counterparts. That is, not exactly conservative, inclined to be liberal, even idealists and/or cynics, but not afraid of the future.

The bulk of the men I met on this trip seemed exceedingly fond of the status quo, uneasy as it is. That, I think, was behind their concern over the Atlantic Pact, for instance. Yes, they thought it was a good thing—in its effect on Russia. But it wasn't so good for Belgium, was it? Or Turkey? Even Syrians were concerned lest a Mediterranean Pact draw them involuntarily into a war on the side of America against Russia.

The same sort of concern, I believe, inspired the answers I received to the question: "What do you think of US State Department Policy—in Germany? Greece? China? Europe and Asia as a whole?" The answers were, almost every one, generalities. The bulk of them varied from "too nosey" and "poorly managed" to "far from effective." "Generally good," was the best that was said.

Answers to some other questions also do not lend themselves to simple tabulation. For example, to the question: "What potential is there for the investment of private American capital in your country's industry?" the answer was that there is a great potential—but. . . . There are restrictions and limitations which would preclude large-size, long-term investments. In Arabia, Trans-Jordan and Iraq, for instance, there is considerable anti-British and in some cases anti-American feeling, a fear that investments would be used for "exploitation" and foreign control.

Where answers were not partial, they were often involved and qualified. Everywhere I asked the question: "Do you believe we are in for a third



Ladd's Log

SUNDAY

1:15 A.M.—LA GUARDIA FIELD, New York

Take off in Constellation Clipper "Gloria Temple." Flew at 15,000 feet. Went to sleep.

6 A.M.—STEPHENSVILLE, Newfoundland

Arrived 6 a.m. Breakfast. Interviews. One Allen Dulles, N.Y. attorney and brother of John Foster Dulles. Take off 8 a.m.

10:45 P.M.—LONDON, England

Heathrow Airport. Ate, made telephone calls, interviews. Take off 12:40 a.m. Monday.

MONDAY

3 A.M.—BRUSSELS, Belgium

Breakfast. Interviews. Take off 4:30 a.m. Flew over Alps, Simplon Pass, down west coast of Italy directly over Rome. Saw St. Peter's and Tiber, later Vesuvius, clearly. South across Italian heel, passed over Athens, next Istanbul on the Bosphorus and Golden Horn.

12:30 P.M.—ISTANBUL, Turkey

Lunched quickly with large delegation of journalists including James H. MacFarland, US Information Service and Haluk Durukal, diplomatic correspondent for leading Turkish newspaper *Cumhuriet*. Photographed. Take off 1:30 p.m.

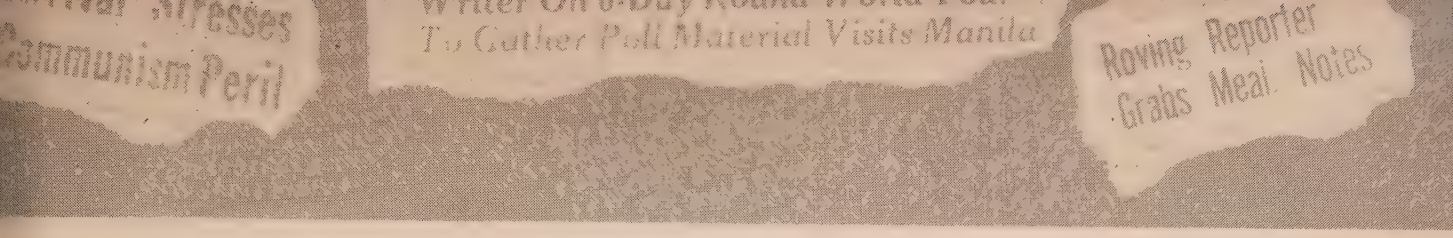
4:30 P.M.—DAMASCUS, Syria

Remained overnight. Iraq forbids flying between sunset and sunrise. PAWA had room for me at Omyad Hotel. Cocktail party given in my honor by Noel Larsen, PAWA local manager, and wife. Photographed in fez. Interviewed at Orient Palace Hotel by Louis Heren of *London Times*, A. Kirkpatrick, British legation attache, Peggy Parton of N.Y. *Herald Tribune*, G. Surhan of the *India News Chronicle*, New Delhi, and John Brown of Karachi *Dawn*. Met Colonel Sheh of Pakistan Foreign Office. Interviewed Col. Husni El Zaim, new Syrian dictator, and private secretary Mr. Nazir Fansa. Platitudes and generalities. Interviewed Meyor Mohamed Nazar, Director of Police. Take off 5 a.m. Tuesday. Flew across the northern deserts of Saudi Arabia to Basra.

TUESDAY

12 NOON—BASRA, Iraq

Interviews included Bernard Wicksteed,



world war?" The answers I got expressed, not belief or conviction, but concern and fear, not of a world war immediately but sometime in the future.

When I tried to pin them down, the answers were vague—"Oh, within five or 10 years." Remembering Mr. Dulles' dismissal of just such long-range predictions, I pressed for a motive behind their predictions. I think I found it. I think it is fear—a deep and abiding fear of war.

For, when I followed the question on war with another—"What do the people of your country want most in the world?"—the answer I obtained again and again was, "Peace . . . peace . . . and a living wage."

And, when I asked, "Do you think the UN is working as well as it should? How could it be made more effective?", I was not told that the UN had failed or was about to fail. Instead, the majority replied that the UN should have stronger support from its members and assurance of stability. A minority insisted that it be given more actual authority over specific situations.

I was not prepared for the lack of concern my informants showed over US or Communist "imperialist encroachments" (see table), but again the replies indicate no expectancy of an early war. Even in southern and southeastern Asia where I made six stops (see log), the steam-roller Chinese Communist armies seemed to have aroused little fear—even in Manila where every day one gets reports on the Government's "police action" against the admittedly Communist-led guerillas in the surrounding hills. Of course, the bulk of those I questioned said Russian influence —"the iron curtain"—will move south in Asia. "But," they added, "no further than we Asiatics want it to come."

I have saved for the last of those questions whose answers defied tabulation one which I had supposed would be quite simple. It was a yes-or-no question: "Do you believe in 'Asia for the Asiatics?'" But the answers didn't come out that way.

Mr. Dulles, curiously enough, set the pattern. Other answers, at every stop, were in general agreement though not so diplomatically worded. The answer, whether in Brussels or Calcutta was another "Yes—but . . ." The Europeans seemed strongly aware that the day of the colonial pukah sahib was gone in Asia (I did not meet any Dutch). And even the most ardent Asiatic nationalists—though they wanted self-rule—failed to express any desire for isolation from the West.

In fact, to the question: "What kind of ideal co-operation do your people expect from the US—from government, industry, private organizations?" I got answers that indicated, in virtually every case, that Asiatics, like Europeans, strongly desired more, not less, attention from America.

It is true, a number of those answering asked for personal satisfactions—easier visas or larger immigration quotas—but those who seemed to understand the scope of the question were almost unanimous in asking for more US exports—of capital goods and consumer items—and for easier access to American markets for their own country's goods.

London *Daily Express* correspondent, also on trip around world. Take off 1:00 p.m.

4 P.M.—KARACHI, Pakistan

Interviews. Take off 5 p.m.

7:10 P.M.—NEW DELHI, India

Interviews. Take off 8:10 p.m. Steak dinner on plane was special.

11:40 P.M.—CALCUTTA, India

Two-day layover. Stayed at Great Eastern Hotel. Had first good bath since leaving New York. Sight seeing. Given dinner by Boris Lissanevitch, 300 Club operator. Met a number of leading merchants and statesment of Calcutta, and also Mr. and Mrs. Frederick Gimble of N.Y. who were leaving for a tiger hunt in Bengal. Thursday lunched at Calcutta Bath Club after interviewing businessmen and merchants. Noticed US autos, other products in common use. Movie marquees displayed Red Skelton and Jimmy Cagney's names. Take off 9:30 p.m. Thursday in midst of thunderstorm. New plane, DC-4 sleeperette.

FRIDAY

5 A.M.—BANGKOK, Siam

Interviews. Breakfasted on orthodox food plus breadfruit and mangoes. Very palatable. Take off 6 a.m.

12:45 P.M.—HONGKONG

Kowloon Airport. Interviews. Take off 2:45 p.m.

6:40 P.M.—MANILA, P. I.

Met by Karl Bachmeyer, Far Eastern representative of *Newsweek*, plus 18 photographers and 11 newspaper men. Newsmen asked me questions oftener than answered mine. Take off 8:40 p.m.

FRIDAY (again!)

4:40 A.M.—GUAM

Breakfast. Interviews. Take off 6 a.m. Crossed international date line. Friday again.

1:50 P.M.—WAKE ISLAND

Lunch and interviews. Take off 3 p.m.

SATURDAY

3 A.M.—MIDWAY ISLAND

It is hard to imagine that this small sand spit was the site of one of the dramatic battles in the Pacific. [See cover.—*Ed.*] No interviews. Take off 4 a.m.

SUNDAY

11:30 A.M.—HONOLULU, Hawaii

Driven by Wrex Cruse, PAWA traffic manager, to Royal Hawaiian Hotel at Waikiki Beach. Numerous interviews. Long talk with Riley Allen, Editor of the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*. Went for swim in surf. Take off 10:20 p.m. Sunday on double-deck Boeing Stratocruiser, "Golden Gate."

MONDAY

9:28 A.M.—SAN FRANCISCO,

International Airport. No interviews, but interviewed. Take off 9:30 p.m. Monday.

TUESDAY

10:50 A.M.—NEW YORK

La Guardia Field.

Eye witness report

NIGHT—US C-47'S, LOADED WITH MILK AND FLOUR, TAXI INTO THE LIGHT AT TEMPELHOF AIRPORT IN BERLI

From Berlin

Where Freight Cars Earned their Wings

UNDER THE PRESSURE OF FEEDING BERLIN US AND UK AIRFORCES DEVELOPED AIR DISPATCHING, ROUTING, LOADING AND GROUND CONTROL TECHNIQUES THAT WILL REVOLUTIONIZE CIVILIAN AIR TRANSPORT

BY EGBERT WHITE
Publisher, UNITED NATIONS WORLD

"WE CAN move anything, any where, anytime, by air. This is not the boast of an irrespon sible enthusiast. It is the considered authorized-for-quotation statement o Maj. Gen. William H. Tunner, com manding the Combined Airlift Tas Force. And the record furnishes th proof.

I had been for some time con vinced that the Airlift had signifi cance beyond the military. I felt sur that it was more than a costly gestur of defiance to the Russian blockad more than a symbol of Allied dete mination to stay in Berlin at an cost, more than a demonstration o Allied airpower to the German peo ple and the world. On a recent vis to Germany, therefore, I watche the Airlift in operation, once ridin

into Berlin with a load of coal. I wanted to see if it might not be paying off in something besides political coin. I wanted to see if I could sort out some constructive commercial values.

I think I found them. The Airlift is the first big scale, all weather, day in and day out test of planes, crews and techniques for the hauling of heavy freight under noncombat conditions. General Tunner commanded the Hump operation from India to China during the war which was conducted under combat conditions, regardless of cost in money and lives.

At its peak the Hump operation carried 140,000 tons of cargo a month, using about 1000 planes daily. Slightly more than this tonnage is being flown into Berlin with 225 planes.

Of course, no fair comparison can be made but, had the Airlift experience come first, the Hump operation could have been carried out at great savings in lives and money and efficiency.

On February 26 the Airlift landed, and took off, 902 planes at Templehof Airfield in Berlin, one of the three fields in use there. There are 1440 minutes in a 24 hour period and if your arithmetic is good you will calculate that a plane was landing or taking off every 45 seconds. That spells control of the most rigid kind. And the method of control worked out on the Airlift is one that has revolutionized the technique of moving heavy freight by air.

Under the Airlift control system, every plane is in contact with a control point every minute. Clearance of about 6 miles, or two minutes, is maintained in the air. That means the most careful adjustment of speed. It means absolute adherence by every pilot to the standard operating practice. There must be no deviation by so much as a minute from the time schedule, the altitude, or the course.

Under this system there is no "stacking up" over an airport. Every plane makes a "straight-on" approach and less than 1 per cent miss their first approach. When they do miss they have to go all the way back to the starting point and work their way into the flying pattern again.

There are three air corridors into Berlin. Incoming planes had been routed along two of these corridors, outgoing planes on the third. When I was in Frankfort, one of several loading fields, planes were taking off at intervals of between two and three minutes.

In the air, one flies at an altitude of 6500 feet, the next at 5500 feet. If you will picture two strings stretched between Frankfort and Berlin at these two altitudes you can imagine the planes as beads strung out at six-mile intervals. No matter how black the night or how thick the clouds every pilot has the assurance that his plane alone occupies the area of sky allotted to it.

The first value one can see in the Airlift is that it has tested a system of control which will be of immense benefit to civilian airlines.

The second value of the Airlift is a new technique for accurate prediction of fuel consumption.

In our early military use of big transports, scores of planes and crews were lost because fuel calculations were inaccurate. Two planes would get widely varying distances out of the same quantity of gas. Now, as a result of Airlift data which determine the relation of speed, altitudes, load, wind, temperature and other factors to fuel consumption, a flight director can tell almost to the mile how far a given fuel load will carry a particular plane under the conditions it will meet. As an incidental dividend from the study of the mileage problem, methods of achieving gas economy have been discovered that give the big planes now flying considerably more mileage with the same amount of gas.

The third valuable lesson the Airlift has learned and which is now available to civilian flyers has to do with maintenance. Under sustained operation conditions wholly new standards were developed. It was found that, with constant and careful minor maintenance work performed at the base without loss of flying time, it was necessary to inspect the planes in the shop only at the end of 200 hours of flying, instead of 100 hours as had been standard practice. This is accomplished without any loss of safety. The safety record on the Airlift has been higher than for the Air Force as a whole and as good as the record on civilian airlines.

After 1000 hours of flying, every Airlift ship was flown back to the US for a major overhaul after which it was considered practically as good as a new aircraft.

A fourth value which has come out of the Airlift is accurate data on the relationship of size of plane to economy. The chart shown gives the relative performance in various terms of the C-47, the C-54, and C-74. The Air Force does not have enough C-74's but one can see that if it did, the Airlift could have done the same job with about one third the planes and crews and at a saving of almost 50 per cent in gas. If on the other hand it had been necessary to use only C-47's (that World War II workhorse), it would have taken nearly four times as many planes as of the C-54 type. In other words, since available fields were loaded to capacity, it would have been impossible to haul the Berlin freight with C-47's.

One of the miracles of Operation Vittles to a layman is the comprehensive system of records and reports. In the "Air Room" at headquarters

DAY—US C-47's at Berlin's Tempelhof unload a variety of cargo on army trucks.

I saw scores of big wall charts showing every phase of the entire operation. These charts were kept up—not to the day before—but to the last hour. At 3:40 p.m. on a Sunday afternoon when I looked at them they showed every detail of performance up to 3:00 p.m. of that day. General Tunner could walk into that Air Room at any hour of the day or night, seven days a week, and see how many tons of freight had been hauled by each squadron, what the turnaround time was at every field and for every squadron, how many planes were out of commission, how much fuel had been used. He knew every minute what his planes were doing—now, not yesterday. It was a HQ gag that the General could glance at his board and tell when a crew took time out for an extra cup of coffee.

In addition to the importance of the Airlift as a laboratory for commercial operations, it has, of course, given the US Airforce's Transport Force invaluable training. With rotation every six months for Americans, several thousand US Transport Force pilots and crews had a turn at this duty. It was hard, trying, monotonous work and nobody liked it after the novelty wore off.

The weather in Germany in winter is notoriously bad for flying. Altogether, in 10 months, 32,962 ground-control landings were made. And winter weather was only the most dramatic of the hazards that helped to develop for the US a Transport Force that is the wonder of the world.

An important element in the Airlift has been the *Task Force Times*, a daily mimeographed single sheet newspaper. Through this sheet every man in the Task Force knew what was being accomplished and by whom. It made him an interested partner in the operation.

An important feature of the *Times* is the "Howgozit Board" which is to the Airlift what the League standings are to baseball. This table reports for every squadron the tons carried daily, its ultilization rate and efficiency. There has been months of keen rivalry for top places on that table.

Almost every issue of the *Times* that I saw reported records broken.

Celle (one of the airfields) unloaded 30 freight cars of coal in one hour, and 15 minutes, the *Times* says. "Can any unit beat that"?

A 12 man loading crew put aboard 19,670 pounds of coal in 5 minutes 28.8 seconds. They challenge all loading crews.

Tegel Airfield reduces average plane unloading time from 20 minutes to 11 minutes.

S/Sgt. Ollie Szydlowsky has devised a method of loading de-icer fluid which enables one man to do in 20 minutes what it formerly took 10 men to do.

Lt. James Ford has worked out a plan for eliminating certain unnecessary equipment which permits loading of 850 pounds more payload on each plane.

Sgt. M. L. Gibson is the shortest mechanic in the Task Force, and, while not a part of the standard tool kit, is a "most useful member of the maintenance crew."

This is American and British sporting instinct and house-organ humor applied to a serious task. It helps people get on with a dull and monotonous duty.

In addition to publicity for their achievements, Air Medals were awarded to US airmen who demonstrated unusual devotion to duty and special skill in their task and to all flying 100 missions.

It is men and machines and methods that make for success in any such project as the Airlift and General Tunner's men were not neglected. Recreation was an important factor. There was no wartime stimulation in the job. Ways had to be found to brighten leisure time after the hard, dreary, monotonous day in and day out work. So HQ set up tours to all parts of Europe for men on leave. Clubs and sports, theatricals, including the Task Force's own touring show, were arranged to entertain the crews. Professionals from home gave generously of their time and talent—Bob Hope, Constance Bennett, Jinx Falkenberg, Garry Moore, and others.

Horseback riding, hunting, handicraft work are among the projects set up. At one base the boys made furniture for their club from crating lumber. At the Education Center a man might learn anything from how to play the accordion to how to paint or speak Russian. At one base alone a few weeks ago more than 3000 men were enrolled in courses at the Center.

The US and UK Air Forces may, in fact, be in the process of learning from the Airlift as much about combating boredom as anything else.

While this is truly important, the real achievement, which will count among the major accomplishments of this period, will be its development of the knowledge and techniques by means of which air transportation will become practical for the hauling of heavy freight—"anywhere, anytime." It marks a turning point in the competition between freight carriers that roll on wheels and those that are borne on wings.

Performance of Three Airlift Planes

EACH FLYING 4,500 TONS INTO BERLIN OVER 30-DAY PERIOD

	C-74	C-54	C-47
Trips	5,400	13,800	39,706
Flying Time (hours)	16,200	42,888	158,824
Crews (@ 90 hrs. mo.)	180	465	1,765
Aircraft	68	178	899
Maintenance Men	2,700	4,674	10,588
Gasoline	6,804,000	8,577,600	14,294,000

Factors: 3.4 Tons for 4 hr. round trip by C-47; 9.7 Tons for 3.3 hr. round trip by C-54; 25.0 Tons for 3.0 hr. round trip by C-74.

The chart shows how enormously the cost of the airlift in planes, men, fuel would have been cut had enough C-74's been available.

The secret services:

The Men, the Methods and the Money

Battle Order of World Espionage

PART ONE: The Big Three

TODAY'S "Battle of Espionage" is waged on every fighting front of the cold peace by some 24,000 major, full-time operatives of the US, UK. and USSR. Another 15-20,000 agents are enlisted in the secret services of the smaller countries within the orbits of the Big Three.

The number of auxiliary personnel—special or *ad hoc* informants, plants, double agents, agents provocateurs, train and coast watchers, resident observers, etc.—is beyond calculation. Probably it is the highest number in the history of international intrigue.

A total of $248,000,000 a year is spent on this phase of the "war"—a seemingly exorbitant sum even if compared with the Big Powers' espionage budgets earlier in this century when Czarist Russia and Austria-Hungary, both with unlimited funds and insatiable appetites for other peoples' secrets, were inflating market prices. (In 1905, Russia paid 1,000,000 gold marks in cash to a Viennese woman operative for the Austrian Army's Deployment Plan.)

The array of military forces deployed by both sides in the visible theater of the East-West conflict is but window dressing. Any cold war is, in fact, waged on invisible fronts by secret agents. Neither the number of operatives nor the sums spent on, for or by them is, therefore, considered to be exorbitant.

The Battle Order which follows is the third in a series (World Armies, UNW, June, 1948; World Air Forces, August, 1948). It is confined to a survey and evaluation of *positive* intelligence—the effort to obtain information by overt or covert methods and means on the physical and moral strengths and weaknesses of other nations.

Negative intelligence, or counter-espionage (CI), is designed to prevent others from obtaining one's national, state, military, naval or economic secrets. The latter is an investigative function akin to police and law enforcement work and has no direct bearing on the dynamism of the "war between the wars."

Col. W. Nicolai, the German spymaster of World War I, once wrote: "War in peace—that is the best description of the role of international intelligence." Written more than 25 years ago, Nicolai's words fit today's situation with uncanny perfection.

The perennial prototypes of international intrigue, the brief-case carrying German spy and the ever-smiling, bespectacled Japanese agent, are no longer on the scene. Their place has been taken by eager and vigorous newcomers who now contest the supremacy of the fabulous and much-maligned "British agent": the studious, pragmatic Americans long on research but short on political psychology, and the heavy-handed, poker-faced Russians, blinkered by Marxism. From the days of the Scarlet Pimpernel and Rothschild's messenger, who brought the news of Napoleon's defeat at Waterloo, British intelligence has been supported by the imperial tripod of the Bank, the Admiralty and the Foreign Office.

Of the Big Three presented in this first survey, the US is groping its way toward the establishment of an Intelligence Service commensurate with its gigantic new global responsibilities and acceptable within its own democratic tradition and philosophy. The USSR maintains an oversized intelligence "net," partly to satisfy a curiosity born of feelings of inferiority and persecution, and partly to aid in the conspiracy of world revolution. Only in the United Kingdom is intelligence work endowed with a clear-cut function of its own that has both permanency and power. There intelligence work is properly regarded as a valuable, non-military tool for the execution of national policy.

Intelligence serves a variety of needs in the smaller nations. An analysis of their secret services will appear in a forthcoming issue. L.F.

USSR

Expenditure: **$110,000,000**

Operatives: **12,800**

Even these comparatively huge figures fail to reflect the enormous scope of Soviet intelligence which is compelled to carry on costly operations in the whole of Asia, the Western Hemisphere and Europe. Each area needs a large staff with major bases of operation. Soviet agents are superbly trained in the technical details of espionage in the world's most lavishly endowed spy schools some of which have actual university rank. The maintenance of these schools both within and without the USSR represents an additional burden on the MVD's treasury from whose immense unvouchered funds, exempted from supervision by the Finance Ministry and the Gosbank, all espionage bills are paid—most of them in hard dollar cash.

THE rambling, duplicative, well-informed but inefficient organization of Soviet espionage employs by far the greatest number of full-time operatives, in line with its basic principle that "quantity produces quality." At least six major Soviet organizations are engaged in secret intelligence work. Most of them combine genuine strategic with the most picayune tactical intelligence. Conflicting evaluations on high levels and competitive, colored information submitted by over-zealous or opportunistic operatives represent chief deficiencies of USSR intelligence organization. • Top-level agency with at least some coordinating functions is the R-Branch of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party, acting as Intelligence Service for Politbureau and Foreign Administration of Central Committee. • Section XII of the MVD (Ministry of Internal Affairs) is the USSR's highest-ranking functional intelligence agency, combining international positive intelligence with counter-intelligence work. • The Intelligence Administration of the Ministry of Armed Forces, with Military and Naval Intelligence sub-sections, is in charge of collection and dissemination of strictly professional material along conventional intelligence lines, with Military and Naval Attaches as recruiting and supervising agents throughout the world. • Economic intelligence is one of the major functions of the Ministry of Foreign Trade which works through commercial diplomats, trade delegations and such quasi-independent agencies as Amtorg in the US. • The top-ranking political intelligence department of the USSR is within the Minindel (Ministry of Foreign Affairs). It consists of two branches: most of the collection is done by the official TASS News Agency whose functions abroad consist far more of collecting and relaying intelligence reports, surveys, gossip and trend memoranda to its headquarters in Moscow than in pursuing the conventional duties of international journalism; evaluation and dissemination is the task of another Minindel branch known as the Joint Committee for Administration of Foreign Information, once headed by Maxim M. Litvinov. Current chief of Soviet Diplomatic Intelligence, and top-ranking USSR co-ordinator of political intelligence, is Yakov M. Lomakin, until recently Soviet Consul General in New York • The Communist Information Bureau (Cominform) maintains its own political, economic and military Intelligence, as part of Soviet "net." Highest-ranking Soviet Intelligence officer has been identified as Lieutenant General P. M. Fitin; he is in over-all charge of the MVD's external intelligence organization and supervises *all* intelligence outlets abroad. His deputy, in charge of sabotage and subversive activities abroad, is Major General A. P. Ossipov, who speaks English without a trace of accent. Top-level economic intelligence experts include Vlas A. Klentsov and Pavel Solovyev. Major foreign bases of Soviet espionage are: Paris, Havana, Caracas, Mexico City, Buenos Aires, New York, Damascus, Cairo, Shanghai. Favorite camouflage of first-rank Soviet spies is the diplomatic cover. Most agents are assigned to embassies and legations, occupying various positions at the apex of an espionage pyramid which rests on a huge base of CP members, fellow travelers, social contacts, professional spies—as well as "lonesome people" whose recruiting is highly recommended in Soviet Intelligence manuals.

UK

Expenditure: **$56,000,000**

Operatives: **3,860**

Most of the funds available to British intelligence are invisible and unvouchered, drawn from the profits of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Co. and other business corporations owned by His Majesty's Government. Then, too, openly appropriated funds show a remarkable increase since 1913. In that year, $234,200 were appropriated for "secret service" accounts. In 1938, Britain's overt secret service budget reached the record peacetime total of $2,082,500. Today it is in excess of $10,000,000—and that figure is understood to represent about

IN POPULAR imagination, the fabulous "British Intelligence Service" represents ultimate perfection in international espionage. In reality, no agency so named actually exists. What is usually lumped together under the designation "British Intelligence Service" is a cumbersome conglomeration of various intelligence organizations, working with jealously guarded independence, often at cross purposes, and not always with the skill and efficiency Hollywood unfailingly attributes to the stereotyped "British spy." At present, Britain has seven major and a number of subsidiary Intelligence organizations, loosely co-ordinated by special Cabinet Committee. • Most important of them all is the PID or Political Intelligence Division of the Foreign Office. The significance of this agency is indicated by the fact that its active chief is always the Permanent Under-Secretary of State (now Sir William Strang), the department's highest ranking career official. PID is a scientific organization. It uses chiefly overt techniques such as press analysis, traveler interrogation, radio monitoring. Also the regular Political Reports of Foreign Service officers at diplomatic posts, some of which are remembered as diplomatic classics (Sir Eyre Crewe's 1906 analysis of Anglo-German relations and Colonel Lawrence's 1918 estimate of the Near Eastern situation). Scientific nature of PID was emphasized with appointment of Professor Arnold Toynbee as one of top-officials in charge of co-ordination of incoming material and evaluation for highest policy purposes. PID publishes superb "Political Intelligence Weekly" for briefing of top policy-makers with orchestrated world-intelligence of highest reliability and probability rating. • Strategic (long-range) and Secret Intelligence (espionage) are the responsibilities of a new British Intelligence agency known as the Joint Intelligence Bureau (JIB) with headquarters in "the House on Bryanston Square"—a locale replacing in legend Admiralty's "O.B. 40" as the Shangri-La of international intrigue. This agency is headed by Britain's most proficient intelligence expert, Major General Kenneth W. D. Strong, intellectual, bachelor, linguist, with monkish attachment to secret service work. His staff includes M. Y. Watson, Brig. G. R. Way, Air Comm. R. E. deT. Vintras, and R. E. McEuen. JIB is under Ministry of Defense. It provides inter-service intelligence for Cabinet and Imperial General Staff. JIB maintains and trains "special operatives" for "action missions" (sabotage, subversive

20 per cent of total expenditures. Long experience and minimum of bureaucracy make for efficiency and economy in all British intelligence organizations both in use of funds and of personnel.

infiltration, undercover work, etc.), inherited from a highly valued wartime agency known as SOE (Secret Operations Executive). • Another top-level agency, but with a tradition far greater than its present influence, is DNI or Division of Naval Intelligence, an important branch of Lord Fraser's Naval Staff. During World War I, this organization produced Adm. Sir Reginald Hall, probably the greatest intelligence officer of all time. In World War II, DNI scored remarkable results, first under Admiral Godfrey and later under Commodore Rushbrook. DNI remains the world's best-informed naval intelligence service, absolutely leading in crucial anti-submarine intelligence. • The Army's "land-locked" and the RAF's "air-borne" intelligence work is far more constricted than the Navy's global intelligence activity. Today it consists chiefly of the collection of technical data on foreign armies, air forces and weapon developments. British Army's greatest single positive intelligence organization is attached to the staff of General Sir Brian H. Robertson in Germany. Characteristically best-known branch of Military Intelligence is MI-5, an efficient counter-intelligence organization which has succeeded in keeping alien spies in Britain to an amazing minimum in the course of two world wars and the cold war. • Foreign Office harbors two additional intelligence organizations of major importance: the EID (Economic Intelligence Department) under E. A. Radice, an over-all co-ordinating agency feeding economic information to policy-makers; and the Passport Office whose overseas branches serve as covers for both positive and negative intelligence operations. A number of lavishly endowed and staffed *ad hoc* intelligence and espionage organizations are maintained in Europe and China to deal with specific postwar problems, especially the operation of an "underground railway" in Eastern Europe. A major British intelligence agency with amazing power and autonomy is the MEIC or Middle Eastern Intelligence Center with headquarters at Cairo and branches throughout the Arab world. No catalogue of British Intelligence services would be complete without at least mentioning Mr. Winston S. Churchill's private but substantial and well-experienced intelligence organization which, upon occasions, outstrips Britain's regular intelligence agencies.

USA

Expenditure: **$80,000,000**

Operatives: **6,615**

The U.S. budget figure includes everything from the total appropriations of the Central Intelligence Agency to the very limited "unvouchered funds" available for "action missions" or "projects" of independent operatives. The number of operatives includes all non-clerical personnel engaged in the intelligence activities of the U.S. Government, except investigators hired by certain committees of its legislative branch. The high amount of expenditure is no reflection of the scope and efficiency of U.S. intelligence. The purchasing-power of the U.S. "Intelligence dollar" is that of an inflated currency in foreign fields. There is also substantial waste within various organizations due to acute bureaucracy.

A newcomer to International Intelligence, long reluctant to engage in an all-out battle of espionage, the US is learning fast. Technically and in the quality of evaluation, it already surpasses all competitive national organizations except that of Britain. Unlike British Intelligence, which claims the co-operation of private organizations and individuals in all walks of life, and unlike Soviet Intelligence, which goes to extremes in utilizing diplomatic covers, US Intelligence is confined to specific, openly identified government agencies, employing an amazing minimum of secret operatives on a full-time basis. A multitude of volunteer informants abound, but only complicate rather than simplify its work. • The Army and the Navy maintain their traditional intelligence agencies, the former within its General Staff (Maj. Gen. Stafford LeRoy Irwin, Director); the latter as a rather subordinate division within the office of Chief of Naval Operations (Rear Adm. Thomas Inglis, Director). Efficiency of Naval Intelligence is undermined through decentralization, leaving but little actual work in the hands of ONI. Probably the outstanding intelligence organization within the Navy is Communication Intelligence. • Most ambitious military Intelligence service is the Air Forces "A-2"—directed by Maj. Gen. C. P. Cabell and reporting directly to the Chief of Staff and the Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations. • Nominally superimposed on all intelligence organizations is the Central Intelligence Agency, a division of the National Security Council, with Rear Adm. Roscoe H. Hillenkoetter as Director (Brig. Gen. E. K. Wright, deputy, Capt. Walker C. Ford, USN, executive director). Product of the "cold war" and of vastly increased US responsibilities in the postwar world, CIA is still groping for its definitive role and place in international intelligence.

In certain fields, CIA walks boldly where even British agents fear to tread—but on the whole, within the framework of Anglo-American co-operation, CIA regards itself as the junior partner, closely co-operating with and following the lead of various British Intelligence organs. Wisely confining its own activities to the task assigned to it by Congress, CIA is not likely ever to become the same kind of "powerhouse" in international intrigue and influence on domestic politics that some of its European counterparts still are. • Despite a tendency toward unification and co-ordination, and largely due to the limitations imposed on CIA, the US still has a too-diffuse intelligence network with too many independent agencies duplicating too many efforts. Agencies doing more or less positive intelligence on an international scale include: • State Department: the office of W. Park Armstrong, Special Assistant to the Secretary . . . Twenty-one "desks" (divisions) in four major regional offices . . . Office of Intelligence Research (Allan Evans, Director, four regional and one functional divisions) . . . Division of Biographic Information (Moore Gates, Chief), which produces a superb confidential Who's Who on a global scale. • Treasury Department: Intelligence Unit, Bureau of Internal Revenue . . . Deputy Commissioner, Bureau of Customs . . . Intelligence and Law Enforcement Division, Coast Guard . . . Bureau of Narcotics . . . US Secret Service . . . Office of International Finance. • Department of Justice: Federal Bureau of Investigation . . . Immigration and Naturalization Service. • Post Office: Division of Criminal Investigation in the Bureau of the Chief Inspector. • Interior: Bureau of Mines, Foreign Minerals Branch in Economics and Statistics Division. • Agriculture: Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations, especially Division of Foreign Agricultural Information. • Commerce: Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce . . . Weather Bureau. • US Atomic Commission: Director of Intelligence (Walter F. Colby) . . . Director of Security (Rear Adm. John Gingrich). • Economic Co-operation Administration: Security and Investigation Division. • Export-Import Bank. • Federal Communications Commission.

THE HEART OF VENICE: THE PIAZZA AND PIAZZETTA SAN MARCO AS SEEN FROM THE CLOCK TOWER

Ancient City of sunlight and haze of marble and color and pleasure

Venice

WHERE PIGEON SHOOTING, AIRPLANE RACING AND MODERN MOVIES COMPETE WITH 400 YEAR OLD PAINTINGS BY THE BELLINIS

BY TIBOR KOEVES
UNW's Travel Editor

ALMOST a full century ago, in June 1851, an Englishwoman traveling in Italy with her husband wrote a letter to a friend in London.

"I have been between Heaven and Earth since our arrival at Venice," she confided. "The Heaven of it is ineffable. Never have I touched the skirts of so celestial a place. The beauty of the architecture, the silver trails of water up between all that gorgeous colour and carving, the enchanting silence, the moonlight, the music, the gondolas—I mix it all up together, and maintain that nothing is like it, nothing equal to it, not a second Venice in the world."

The author of the letter was Elizabeth Barrett Browning, but her description was no poetic excess. Her enchantment echoes the praises writers and artists, ever since the Middle Ages, have heaped on the marvelous city built on 117 small islands. From Petrarch to Thomas Mann, from Dürer and Rousseau and Byron and Shelley to Wagner and D'Annunzio, the splendor of Venice has been sung by a more brilliant succession of admirers than the beauties of any other city of the world, even Paris.

Thanks to them, Venice is a place which lives intimately in the imagination of even those who have never had the good fortune to walk across its main square, the dazzling Piazza San Marco, or to sit in the shade sipping at one of the tables of the Cafe Florian which, through plagues, revolutions and wars, has remained open day and night for the last 300 years. Raised out of the water, Venice can not expand, and her palaces and churches are built of enduring marble. Almost 1500 years after its foundation by refugees fleeing the Barbarians who overran the mainland it remains the untouched outpost of unadulterated beauty in a world of mounting esthetic decay.

It is a very happy circumstance that this summer tens of thousands of Americans going to Europe include Venice in their itinerary, for no one needs more the inspiration of the city of St. Mark. Growing to maturity in a century singularly devoid of esthetic preoccupations, America, while catching up with the best in Western civilization, permitted herself to build cities of hopeless ugliness. For the creation of a happier America no Marshall Plan or Atlantic Pact may do half so much as the indoctrination in beauty of her emissaries at that "celestial place" called by its natives Venezia.

ONE OF THE TWO Bronze Giants strikes the hour in the Clock Tower.

Doubtless the visitor will feel, at first perhaps vaguely and then with mounting awareness, that the unique

STEERAGE WAY ONLY—From an arched bridge a passer-by watches a cargo barge crowd past a smaller boat and a slim gondola in one of the narrow canals.

Venice *continued*

magic of Venice is due mainly to its colors—result of the constant, enchanting play of the light on water and marble. Ceaselessly the sunshine creates moving and brilliant surfaces and living, melting tones, then trembles on the slight haze—result of the constant evaporation from the lagoons —which envelops all forms almost invisibly.

The situation of Venice gave the city not only its unique atmosphere, but also foreordained its whole history by two sets of circumstances. First of all, Venice faces the East, and its natural expansion, both politic and economic, turned it toward the Orient, where it forever acquired a taste for the grandiose, the lavish, the picturesque, the resplendent. Second, these people born out of the waves became masters of sea communication and were to reap a bountiful harvest as a nation of courageous and aggressive mariners. In the words of Petrarch, Venetian ships as large as a house sailed to every part of the world and faced a thousand dangers carrying wine to England, honey to the Black Sea, saffron, oil, linen to Assyria, Armenia, Persia, Arabia, wood to Egypt and Greece, and thence returning laden with merchandise. Such activities made Venice from 1300 forward as rich and powerful as England was in the 19th Century, but the colossal fortunes thus amassed went into administering and embellishing not a nation but a single city with a population of scarcely 150,000 citizens.

The lavish beauty of its architecture persists, the greatness of its artists is preserved, but the city is no solemn museum. Venice is a gay, intensely alive place, as concerned with modern matters as is Hollywood. In fact, a major event of the coming tourist season will be the International Cinema Festival. There will be the famous week-long Pigeon Shoot, a race for tourist planes, a horse show as well as a four-month exhibition of Bellini canvases. (See listing of other events, with dates, page 38).

The noble merchants and seafarers set a pattern which, to a degree, still identifies Venice. They devoted themselves to enjoying their wealth and catering to their own desires with a hedonism unique in the West.

But wealth alone cannot account for Venice's sense of beauty and gift for pleasure. Generations of witnesses from all parts of the world have attested that there is something special in the air of the city which makes it the promised land of all those who have the most sensitive ears for music, the most sensitive eyes for art, the most sensitive hearts for love.

He is an unfortunate who, on his very first morning in Venice, does not feel that he has awakened to a world brighter and more delicious, to a life fuller of promise, to a heightened joy in life. And how easy it is to follow up a glorious morning by the most enchanting day when one can walk through a maze of narrow little bridges and narrower *calle*—the shadowy canyons of the popular quarters where walls of grey, old houses with simple, friendly façades join each other at ever changing angles — en route to grandiose churches or one's favorite Bellini, Tintoretto or Bordone. When, at night the moon rises, the hour comes to glide in a gondola along the Canal Grande. One rides the black water in melancholy silence until, at the foot of the Piazza San Marco, his gondola joins a bevy of others lit with gay Chinese lanterns from which arise the arias of potential Carusos engaged in the admiration of their own voices in the time-honored manner of Italian tenors.

And then there are magic nights on the Lido, the island with Italy's softest beach, most luxurious hotel, most renowned orchestras and swankiest gambling Casino.

Around the tables laden with Murano's most scintillating crystal, among which bloom bouquets of roses, carnations, camelias, the most alluring women of Europe and the Americas are courted by men who have left their troubles at home. Princesses, actresses, courtesans are bedecked in historic strings of pearls. And the statesmen, artists, financiers and industrialists who squire them become aware why they had wanted fame and fortune: to be able to enjoy the plentitude of this moment.

But, wonderful enough, the simple people, who have neither fame nor fortune can be and are just as happy as the great of the world. The golden wine of Padua has the same taste for us as for them, the soft air laves us, too; completely fulfilled, we have no other desire than to breathe in the splendor of the Italian summer night.

In the course of the 13th Century, Venice became master of the seas, and gave birth to great admirals. During the following hundred years it reached over to the mainland and expanded its domain from the Alps to the valley of the Po. But when Constantinople fell to the Turks and Vasco de Gama opened a sea route to

the Indies, the world supremacy of Venice ended. The descendants of adventurous sailors and traders turned inward, concentrating their wealth and vitality on seeking and conquering not markets and provinces but pleasures and women.

Here Carnival used to last six full months and provocative masks were worn not only after dark and by carefree revelers, but by housewives on their way to market. From the 1500's to the end of the Republic in 1796 Venetians took off 150 years for play —in ball rooms, cafés, opera houses, gambling places, at parties which were, more often than not, the wildest.

Instead of being bridled, voluptuousness was encouraged as a state policy. The ruling oligarchy did all it could to encourage hot blooded youth to divert their energies from political to amorous intrigues. What we would call corruption today, was so universal that nuns in disguise participated in the balls as a matter of course, and President de Brosses, the great French jurist of the 18th Century, noted that he found a furious competition among three convents of the city as to which of them should supply a mistress to the new Papal Nuncio. He also recorded that "although there are not in Venice more than twice as many courtesans as there are in Paris, they are very busy and very much sought after."

It was in such a world that, at an earlier date, thrived a Pietro Aretino whom one could call the world's first gossip columnist—and calumnist as well. A master letter writer, he was vain, licentious, corrupt, sensuous, venal, a friend of Popes and Emperors, making and breaking reputations by the power of his poisoned pen. Characteristically, he was Venice's first man of letters at a time when in Florence and in Rome great writers and thinkers were laying the foundations of modern literature and humanistic sciences. Later, of course, from the same soil grew Jacopo Casanova whose name stands for an approach to love, women, life, which is not appreciated today but which was the classical outlook in his times.

Casanova lived for thrills—and that meant not only seducing women, but risking his fortune on a card, his life in a duel, his freedom on a rubber check, his future for a vainglorious gesture; all that in the best tradition of Venice where a race thrived on nervous excitement.

The character of Venetian life came to magnificent expression in the works of its great painters, most of which can still be seen by visitors. Carpaccio, Titian, Veronese—these artists and their kind depicted on huge canvasses the whole social history of their beloved city. They were not content with putting into sharp relief their main characters merely. They included as well buildings and groups of buildings, and a host of extras in the background, priests, merchants, children, soldiers, exotic Turks and Egyptians. When they painted interiors, they paid particular attention to the refined details of a pleasurable life, golden vases, silver platters of rare fruit, inlaid furniture, peacocks, doves, pets.

And how their colors sing and vibrate in the Venetian air! Rubens is gaudy beside the incredible finesse of Titian, and even the tender and perfect Raphael is occasionally cold when compared to the pulsing warmth of that most sensitive of all painters, the melancholy and sensuous Giorgione.

Architecture did not escape the Venetian touch. The Cathedral of St. Mark with its 500 porphyry, verd-antique and serpentine columns, with its red and gold interior mysteriously gleaming in the shadow, is not Byzantine but a purely local creation based on Byzantine elements. By the same token, the Palazzo Ducale is far from being pure Gothic and the classic palaces are never classic in the same sense they are anywhere else. In each building, the decorative fancy, the submission to the caprices of light and shadow in the form of marble lace work, trellised balconies,

LAZY AFTERNOON. Almost empty sunbaked white beach, toy-like sailing boats, lady with sun glasses—view from the darkened Bar of the Excelsior on the Lido.

Venice *continued*

surfaces dissolved by trefoils, arcades, inlays, imposes itself upon the rigidity of definite patterns.

These palaces were the abodes of "the three thousand gentlemen seigneurs of the city and of the entire state on land and on sea." As to the simpler folk, no one described them more fittingly than that great connoisseur of Venice, John Ruskin.

"Could I but place the reader at the early morning on the quay below the Rialto, where the market boats, fully laden, float into groups of golden colour, and let them watch the dashing of the water about their glittering steely heads, and under the shadow of the wine leaves; and show him the purple of the grapes and fig, and the glowing of the scarlet gourds carried away in long streams upon the waves; and among them, the crimson fish baskets, splashing and sparkling, and flaming as the morning sun falls on their wet tawny sides; and above, the painted sails of the fishing boats, orange and white, scarlet and blue; and better than all such florid colour, the naked, bronzed, burning limbs of the seamen, the last of the old Venetian race who yet kept the right Giorgione colour on their brows and bosoms!"

Today the scene has somewhat changed. Now that trains come right into the city and motor boats haul much of its merchandise, the market is not what it used to be. But the human types are the same, and, above all, the colors have not changed.

There are places, however, where one can observe ways of living and working which have hardly altered in half a millennium. In the ateliers of the island of Murano great-great-grandsons of those glass makers whose emigration once was prohibited on penalty of death (so much did Venice's wealth depend upon their productions) still practice the ancient art. There, some standing, others seated on chairs around the furnace, they mould the viscous, incandescent semiliquid with skill and love. Seizing with small pincers the boiling mixture of sand and soda, and blowing into it through long pipes, in a few seconds they transform it into transparent nymphs or menacing dragon heads. The transformation is accomplished with miraculous speed. What a minute ago was but a formless flaming mass has become a perfect little figure, delicate, beautiful and expensive. An ancient tradition lives and work through these men who are as irre placeable as they are jealous of thei métier. They refuse to allow any non Muranese even to work with them.

It is the same with the lacemaker of the island called Burano. Thes workshops are long, open galleries where groups of about 30 girls si working side by side. As they gossip in low, humming voices, from their fingers flows forth the most exquisite lacework in the world, so fine and perfect in the details of the design that one wonders how such perfec tion is possible for human hands. In Venice, and particularly on Burano it is not rare to see on the street a babe in arms capped with a little bonnet every bit as beautiful as Prince Charles of England wears.

Thus it is not only in the luxury of the Lido, in the splendor of the marble palaces, in the eternal lure of the masterpieces, that beauty survives in Venice. Some of its humblest people have also conserved their happy heritage and earn their bread by recreating old enchantments.

And, for the duration of any visi to Venice, travelers share their happiness because they discover what i means to be surrounded by beauty a every step.

TRAVEL INTELLIGENCE

NO VISA is needed for American citizens in Italy for a stay of under three months. Those who plan to remain longer must apply for a visa at an Italian consulate.

THE CURRENCY situation in Italy is very favorable for Americans. The official rate of exchange of the dollar is 575 Lire, while the blackmarket price is 625 Lire, not an important difference.

AVERAGE HOTEL PRICES in Italy are: De luxe hotels, single room with private bath, $4. Double rooms with bath, $8. First class hotels, single room with private bath, $3, and double room with bath, $6. In good second-class hotels, singles are $2, and doubles $4.

MEALS are equally cheap for the American traveler. You ma have an absolutely first-rate dinner with wine for as little a $2.50, but you may also dine with complete satisfaction in an good middle class *trattoria* for as little as $1. A bottle of goo white wine will not set you back more than 200 lire, abou 35 cents.

A PLEASANT way to travel through Italy is by the new busse of the FIAT company. Each bus has a hostess, a well furnishe bar and a glistening wash room.

IN VENICE the favorite meeting place of Americans is th Harris bar behind the Piazza San Marco. Harris also runs candle-lit little restaurant on Torcello, much appreciated b poets and romantic souls in search of "atmosphere." And th food is excellent.

SOME OF THE OUTSTANDING events in Venice this yea are: International Pigeon-shooting contest, June 4-12; Exhib tion of Bellini's paintings, June 5-October 5; Horse show, Jun 23-29; Air speed contest for tourist aircraft, July 1-3; Sym phonic concerts and ballets in the Doge's Palace, July 9-11 International Cinema Festival, August 11-31; Night Fete on th Grand Canal, August 20; International Music Festival, Sep tember 3-18; International Theater Festival, September 9 October 2.

I am interested in UN WORLD's Fall Marshall Plan Tour to Europe. *Please send particulars.*

Name.....

Address.....

City and State.....

No Ivory Tower

Among Italy's Ruins

ITS REBORN LITERATURE DEALS WITH DESPAIR AND HUNGER. PROSTITUTION AND THIEVERY. IDEALISM AND THE DETERMINED VIRTUE OF WAR-TIRED YOUTH

BY BERNARD WALL

Former British Foreign Office Official and Editor of "Changing World"

ITALY, unlike Britain or France, has no single intellectual center for artists and writers. Rome, Naples, Milan, Florence, Venice and Bologna all have their separate traditions. Because of this, much that is best in modern Italian writing still has a regional tone.

Just as Alessandro Manzoni, the great novelist of the early nineteenth century wrote about Milan, his native city, and the nearby lakes and landscapes, and the great novelist of the turn of our century, Giovanni Verga, was at his best when talking about his Sicilian homeland, so today many of the most widely-read writers are associated in peoples' minds with some particular region. Riccardo Bacchelli, for instance, who was born in Bologna, owes his fame to his historical novels about Romagna and the Po Valley. Emilio Cecchi brings into essays on widely different subjects — from Tuscan paintings to Wordsworth—a refinement and elegance, a spirit of "art for art's sake," which Italians recognize as typically Florentine. Some writers—the Roman poet Trilussa and the Venetian Noventa occur to my mind—still express themselves best in dialect.

So one of the first things one asks about any Italian writer is: "Where is he from?" The distribution of talent is wide and follows no clear rule. South Italy is mostly poor and barren and lacks the standard of living, education and amenities of civilization found in the north. Life in its primitive regions has been well described by Carlo Levi in *Christ Stopped at Eboli*. Nevertheless it pulls its weight in literature and ideas. Benedetto Croce is a Neapolitan (his family originally was from the Abruzzi); Gentile and Pirandello were Sicilians; Elio Vittorini, the brilliant social novelist of the younger generation, is Sicilian too; Corrado Alvaro comes from Calabria. Whereas Alberto Moravia is a Roman, Aldo Palazzeschi is a Florentine. Italo Svevo came from Trieste like the poet Umberto Saba, Eugenio Montale is Genoese, and so on. There is even a diaspora of writers and artists born outside the mother country and inheriting a distinctive international or cosmopolitan culture. Alberto Savinio and his brother Giorgio de Chirico, the painter, are Italians from Greece, and Giuseppe Ungaretti was brought up in Egypt.

The fact that Italians preserve with tenacity their attachment to their own cities or landscapes does not mean that they are cut off from European movements. Indeed, it has been said that Paris is the real intellectual capital of Italy. The De Chiricos, Ungaretti, and a number of other Italian artists and writers once lived in France and played an active part in Parisian life. Others, more rooted at home, have not escaped the French influence.

Italian literature differs from French and English in the impact on it of political events. While, during the thirties, in London and Paris writers of every kind took passionately to political discussions, in Italy this was precluded by the dictatorship. Of course, some writers were notorious anti-Fascists and resisters to the regime. Benedetto Croce, the aging philosopher, helped to keep alive a noble if rather 19th-century kind of liberalism. Montale lived in dignified isolation. Ignazio Silone, always more widely read abroad than in Italy, G. A. Borgese and others went into exile. The regime never won much wholehearted support from writers of talent.

The generation which reached middle age between the two wars tended to withdraw into an ivory tower. Novelists like Aldo Palazzeschi, Mas-

simo Bontempelli and Antonio Baldini, as well as Bacchelli and Cecchi are what we should call stylists. They explore all the refinements of language and tradition to produce beauty. When one looks for a single adjective to describe them, "civilized" is the first word to come to mind. They are all men of exquisite sensibility, they are universal-minded, they have intimate appreciation of every kind of European art. They are far more intellectual and critical in tone than most novelists in England or America, they are much more "sceptical" and as a result have much less force and violence.

The next generation of Italians—those, say, not much over 40 when war broke out—had even less enthusiasm for Fascism than their elders. We get a good example of this in the work of Alberto Moravia. His first novel, *Gli Indifferenti*, published in the twenties when he was still a minor, was a precocious monument of disillusionment and the bitterness of its attack on the philistine middle classes made it almost a social document. Moravia has not changed since then. *La Romana*, published two years ago, has the same quality. Moravia was by far the most successful young writer in the thirties—his nearest rival being perhaps the D'Annunzio-Hemingway figure, Curzio Malaparte.

Another novelist who represented the general instinct against conformity was Corrado Alvaro, whose *L'Uomo è forte* (Man is Strong) is a psychological shocker about life in a 20th-century police state. [UNW Book Section, Sept. 1948.] When he wrote it in the thirties Alvaro already felt those preoccupations about scientific propaganda and freedom which we find in Aldous Huxley's later work and Koestler's *Darkness at Noon*. Alvaro gave his totalitarian state a Russian setting to get through the censorship, but everyone knew what he was thinking about.

Then came the three years extending between the overthrow of Mussolini in 1943 and the departure of the Allied armies in 1946. In these three short years the Italians successively experienced a fresh breeze of liberty, a cruel German occupation with manhunts and labor drives, national resistance and partisan war, and finally the arrival of a vast liberating army, which brought tensions, both creative and depressing.

From the point of view of the writer, it may seem this experience was no different from that of the French, the Belgians, the Austrians or other peoples. But in Italy the awakening from the twilight sleep of 20 years also brought contemporary problems into the open with a rush. With public speech at last free, the literary coteries began with speed to go through phases European intelligentsia had passed through in the thirties. There were furious debates on every kind of idea—from Communism, Liberty, Christianity and Existentialism to Pacifism and Free Love—all engaged in the highly intellectualized and abstract tone peculiar to Italian expression. The bridges with foreign countries were rebuilt with typical ingenuity and speed.

Translations of all the leading English, American and French novelists began to pour from the presses in Milan, Turin, Bologna and Rome. And new literary periodicals, often very short-lived, discussed Faulkner, Eliot and Dylan Thomas, as well as Valéry, Gide, Sartre and Camus.

This experience of three fateful years has still not entirely sorted itself out. Novels and stories by writers like Elio Vittorini, Vitaliano Brancati, Mario Soldati, Flaiano and others are still drawing on aspects of war experience or on the social problems—some of them simple ones such as homelessness, prostitution, derelict children and profiteering—which war has brought. Nearly every Italian writer is depressed by the bitter contrasts between the luxury of the wealthy and the misery of the dispossessed in post-war Italy. Many are preoccupied by problems of sincerity, responsibility and loyalty as they arose in the civil struggle—and what the French call *la littérature engagée*. In other words, the *atmosphere* of writing seems to be undergoing a revolution.

Italian writers, of course, face special disadvantages. The reading public in Italy is much smaller than in France or England, though it has a lively critical standard. Whereas educated people there read French almost as much as Italian, with English a good third, Italian books are little known abroad. This means that it is hard even for a successful novelist to make a reasonable living. Italian writers have to make money as they may by working at other jobs—the commonest being journalism.

There is a lot of scope for translations from Italian today as foreign publishers are beginning to discover. But the job is not always easy. Much contemporary writing still depends on the manipulation of the enormous vocabulary of the Italian language so as to achieve intellectual nuances and subtle distinctions. The syntax, with the subordination of clause within clause inherited from the Romans and the Renaissance writers, is very complicated.

Some of the best contemporary Italian prose is like Italian wine—it tends to lose its bouquet when it is exported. The younger writers who describe very simply and directly elemental passions and situations we have all experienced in one way or another in recent years—I am thinking of Moravia or Carlo Levi—are the ones who come out best in translation.

Recommended Books

THE BRAVE BULLS *by Tom Lea—Little, Brown & Co.*

DESCENT INTO HELL *by Charles Williams—Pellegrini & Cudahy.*

SKETCH FOR A SELF-PORTRAIT *by Bernard Berenson—Pantheon.*

THE SITUATION IN ASIA *by Owen Lattimore—Little, Brown & Co.*

THE HOOVER COMMISSION REPORT—*McGraw-Hill Book Co.*

EVERYMAN'S UNITED NATIONS—*UN World-Funk & Wagnalls.*

Socialism Individualism True Confucianism

and the West's lost faith

World in Transition
by G. D. H. Cole. New York, Oxford University Press, $6.50.

Reviewed by **Charles Hodges**
Professor of International History at New York University

This is a world survey. The man who does the surveying approaches his readers with refreshing candor; he disavows omniscient "objectivity," which nowadays usually produces only bootleg bias. Instead, he slams the reader up against 12 propositions as diverse as the right to earn a living and the ethics of international politics.

Mr. Cole wants none to mistake which side he is on. He is, he says, "in effect, a Socialist." I will add that he is a leftward enough Socialist to put on an extraordinarily agile performance of explaining away the seamy side of Communism.

Let us first get an over-all picture of Cole's survey. Unhappily, the diversity of material makes this difficult—a difficulty not resolved by an old-fashioned table of contents, a mere chapter listing, where a real guide would be welcome.

Cole really deals with three main areas. I would distinguish them as social, economic and political background; then a series of national close-ups, from Germany to the Orient, via the US and the Western Hemisphere; and finally, through the stirring colonial peoples, into the United Nations and the contradictions of the world we live in today.

It is not easy to see this because one finds only that unenlightening list of chapters where there should have been guideposts to Cole's line of thought. One eventually realizes the logic of approach; certain key chapters take their proper place in transits of thought. I have in mind that on "Institutions and Social Change" rounding out the introductory material; "The British Commonwealth," taking us from the European scene to other parts of the globe; and "International Trade and Development," swinging us into world organization, the UN and efforts to escape world chaos.

The richness of this pattern makes Cole repeat himself, though his reiteration has a freshness that goes far to justify the duplication. The book is loaded with the Socialist's approach "to the shifting political and economic forces of our time." This, however, has nothing to do with the assembling of complicated data literally from the four quarters of the globe, which is accomplished with brilliance. But it has everything to do with the conclusions drawn and the way that Cole draws them. It is essentially a book of belief, compounded with a comprehensive, indeed formidable, array of data.

If I appear to bear down on the ideological aspect, it is because no current discussion of world affairs can be fairly evaluated without an awareness of the observer's orientation. Inert world facts are nothing more than raw material, a gazetteer-like foundation for the real intellectual edifice. Facts in motion, so to speak, are given social direction by the ideological convictions of the observer. For example, Cole does "accept Soviet Democracy as a legitimate form of democracy, and reject altogether the notion that it is merely autocracy in disguise."

This prelude to political interpretation obviously colors everything touched by Soviet policy—and that is just about global, from the UN to the rise of colonial nationalism in the heretofore conveniently backward reaches of the world. He takes on simultaneously the role of special pleader for the Soviet way of living and that of prosecuting attorney against the American way of life. Sometimes this leads him to wishful thinking, instanced by his argument for a neutral Britain aligned with neither the US nor the USSR. The Atlantic Pact already has dated such an idea; many other pages must, in a book of this kind, be outmoded by the rush of events. But the larger flow of ideas and broader evaluations remain viable because they are the product of systematic thinking and intrusive questioning of men and motives.

This is a factual text but surcharged with one man's thinking. It is frankly an "I" book—"I cannot say" . . . "I see" . . . "I mean" . . . "I do not profess to know." All from one page. But this is not egotistic assertion; it is profoundly personal analysis within the framework of British socialistic thinking.

But the person who wants to know will be amply repaid by the Cole line of interpretation. Every page is pungent with the tang of fresh observation. Americans, especially 100 per centers, will find the critical evaluation of our policy and its purposes at times really painful; but to understand what the other fellow thinks, I am told, is the first step forward in international understanding. So I shall use *World in Transition* in my Graduate School Round Table at New York University as an *agent provocateur* of adult thinking about our global responsibilities.

The Oxford Press has done a clean-cut book. It is not eye-easy—its length has made small type on a large page a necessary economy. The sketch maps, charts, diagrams and table are important auxiliaries to understanding the complex story presented; but a map of today's world really should be provided to pin down the shifting story—the typically wasted, unused end-papers might well have been employed for such a reader tool.

The Political Community, A Study of Anomie
by Sebastian de Grazia. Chicago University Press, $4.00.

Reviewed by **Dr. Margaret Mead**
Assistant Curator of the Museum of Natural History and author of "Keep Your Powder Dry"

This is a passionate and brilliant book, a book in which wide knowledge covering the world both in space and time, is used skillfully to buttress a thesis: that unless men have a coherent set of beliefs there can be no true political community.

It is a baffling book because the diagnosis of the ills of our time, which de Grazia fills in with modern psychoanalytic theory and anthropological data—the outlines of that disoriented, rudderless state characterized by anxiety and despair, which Durkheim called anomie—compels agreement. His examples are beautifully chosen to reflect the way in which the modern world, particularly the modern American world, looks when set against demands born of many centuries of European Catholic humaneness: a welter of competition, impersonality, deification of work as a protection against anxiety, and a restless search for compensatory affection, as overvalued as it is unobtainable.

The accuracy of the description woos the reader in a receptive attitude towards the other half of his thesis: that the answer must be found, where it has always been found, in a coherent system of beliefs in which men have faith in their rulers, as figures constructed out of the needs and experiences of human infancy. Psychoanalytic findings are used to reaffirm the importance of the images of fatherhood and brotherhood, and anthropological literature is combed with the fine abandon of the arm chair anthropologist of the late 19th

Century—to provide substantiation rather than to subject the thesis to any test.

Throughout the book three things stand out conspicuously: the lack of a belief in any new invention which may make it possible to link men together in some different way more compatible with modern technology; an insistence on an uncompromising return to earlier types of integrating belief; and the lack of any disussion, either positive or negative, of the current experiment in the creation of a new belief system in the Soviet Union, or any really penetrating discussion of the phenomena of Nazism.

The book essentially poses the opposition between the type of values which have been historically embodied in Catholicism and the type of values which are best represented by Protestantism, and discusses with penetration and sympathy the lonely dilemma of modern man in a world he was not reared to understand, a world in which war can be welcomed because it seems to bring him closer to other men.

The possibility that modern social science is something different, or could be made something different from the destructive scepticisms of other ages of decaying faith is not really considered. His thesis might be fruitfully compared with Frank Tannenbaum's theory of "The Balance of Power" (Political Science Quarterly, 1946) which allows for the introduction of a new contestant among social institutions, to join the traditional trio of Family, Church and State: that of the economic structure which has developed on the basis of modern technology, and may be the basis of new forms of political life.

Confucius, the Man and the Myth
by H. G. Creel, New York, the John Day Company, 1949. $5.00.

Reviewed by **Clarence H. Hamilton**
Professor at the Graduate School of Theology, Oberlin College; President of the American Oriental Society.

This is a masterful study as well as a brilliant portrayal of the man who more than all others has become the symbol of the most revered values in China's culture. It possesses both critical discrimination and literary charm. Professor Creel is thoroughly familiar with basic Chinese sources. But he uses them in a way to pierce the veil of tradition and recover for us Confucius, living and walking among fellow-men as unwearied teacher, scholar, philosopher, reformer. The picture is impressive and instructive. Using results of recent scholarship, both Chinese and Western, the author not only recreates the times and personalities with which Confucius interacted, but also shows how his originally humane and democratic spirit became misrepresented by later, lesser men, who sought to assimilate the master to themselves.

Under Creel's handling, many of the features of Confucianism that have been criticized are shown not to have come from Confucius himself. Thus Confucius did not exalt the authority of sage-kings and ancient books as did Mo Tzu. Nor was he a champion of the hereditary aristocracy and of the institutions of feudalism as Mencius was. Nor was he a devotee of divination as Taoist tradition seeks to make him. Still less was he the authoritarian legalist which Han Fei Tzu and others pictured in his sayings.

The timely relevance of Creel's study comes out in his valuable chapters on Confucianism and Western Democracy, and Confucius and the Republic of China. These leave the impression that in the authentic Confucian influence, reflecting the spirit of Confucius himself, there exists in Asia today an indigenous factor on the side of democratic values ["Confucius did *not* say" by H. G. Creel, UNW, May].

Scholars will appreciate the matters of erudition discussed in the carefully-prepared Appendix and Notes, as well as the detailed references and Bibliography—all at the end of the book where they do not disturb the general reader.

On the whole, Creel's analysis of Confucius and his influence may well prove a landmark in American sinological scholarship.

There's Freedom for the Brave, An Approach to World Order
by Paul McGuire, New York, William Morrow and Company, $4.00.

Reviewed by **Roger N. Baldwin**
Director, American Civil Liberties Union

Paul McGuire is an Australian economist who has already tried his hand at finding answers to the problems that beset the world, and has taken on the crisis of our times in a volume of 300 pages covering almost everything political that troubles us.

There is no denying that Mr. McGuire is what the blurbs call "provocative" nor that he is a crusader. He is the highly individualist Galahad whose prescriptions, while highly defensible morally, seem off the line of political realities. McGuire is vital, philosophical, universal, but the bill of goods he has attempted to sell would be more fitting as a treatise on anarchism, with which I hasten to say I would be in general sympathy.

He is no Hayek resting the world's foundations on freedom of enterprise as the indispensable road to democracy, but he is so anti-Statist that the economic system he envisages—and most of his arguments are economic—comes out at much the same place.

His warnings against expansion of the State have moral if not practical force. Socialists, says he, have never faced the "moral problem of power." "Never," says he, "has the state been more in command of the lives of men. Never has it made such howling messes." The attack on Marxism covers not only Communists but Socialists as well. The insoluble problem, he says, "is Marxism itself," and the only assurance we can have against this is denying "any prospect of success." And how? By co-operation of all non-Marxists for peace and more by Americans than any others. Of Americans, he says "their manifest destiny attends them and all history waits with it." He is of course for American aid to raise living standards. He is for American world leadership to help realize "the community of man." What he wants economically is an "open world economy" where governments chart the instrument and free institutions administer them, so that neither laissez-faire nor socialism is the answer.

As testimony to the spirit of freedom the book has a fine ring to it, but its anarchist implications rise far above the level of a practical program of action.

The Coming Age of Wood
by Egon Glesinger, New York, Simon & Schuster. $3.50.

Reviewed by **Mary Saunders**

Mr. Glesinger's book concerns the most commonplace of all commodities: one with which men, women and children in all parts of the world are familiar. Yet he shows that it may solve many of our most complex problems. He explains how an intelligent use of timber can arrest soil erosion and improve fertility.

He recounts the present wonders of wood chemistry, which can supply substitute fuel—solid, liquid and gaseous—and fashion substitute building materials to relieve the strain which ever-rising living standards place upon the earth's resources of coal, oil and steel. He tells us of future dreams of the chemists, which will extend the already long list of things being made out of wood: clothes and shelter; paper of every kind; soap, rubber, plastics, lacquers, cosmetics and medicines; food for livestock—and for men, though Mr. Glesinger's advocacy of the Swedish "wood hamburger" is strikingly half hearted in a book into which he has put, elsewhere, his whole heart.

His head, however, is just as deeply involved; his blueprint for establishing wood factories, to eliminate the present waste arising from segregation of the various wood industries, is practical enough to appeal to any businessman. It has already appealed to many.

Mr. Glesinger, probably an internationalist by conviction, has certainly recognized the international character of his trade. Born the son of a lumberman (and a Czech) he grew up to be a lumberman and a Czech. But he found that forests do not respect national boundaries, and trees grow without regard to governments.

So in 1933 he became an international civil servant—in the service of timber. He is now on the staff of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization. His book was written before he joined that staff, and he explains that it is unofficial. Nevertheless, it is written from an international viewpoint.

This book is addressed chiefly to the United States; in the United States these ideas could be most quickly put to the most practical use. But they are applicable everywhere, and the book will be read everywhere, both for the value of its suggestions, and because of the optimism it engenders. It is both readable and excellently illustrated. The charts are a pleasure to look at and easy to understand. So is Mr. Glesinger's pungent and forthright style.

Gandhiana
(Bibliography of Gandhian Literature)

Compiled by P. G. Deshpande. Ahmedabad, Narjivan Publishing House, $1.00.

Reviewed by Mahendra Meghani
UN correspondent for the Janmabhoomi Newspapers, Bombay

Last February the Indian students of Cornell presented to the University a Gandhi Memorial Library including nearly 500 volumes written by or about Gandhi and other books on the various phases of human life with which he concerned himself.

Among the books offered was the most important bibliography of Gandhian literature to date, *Gandhiana*, which catalogues nearly 2800 books in nine languages. About half of the books listed are in English; not only because some of them were published in England and America, but because even within India the best books by or about Gandhi were written in English. This is due to the fact that English has been the lingua franca of the intelligentsia in India.

The compilation is the result of years of assiduous work by Pandurang Deshpande, the veteran head of the library at the National University founded by Gandhi nearly three decades ago in the hectic days of nonco-operation with British rule in India. In addition to the published writings of Gandhi, and books dealing with or bearing on his life, it also lists those books that are useful in understanding Gandhi's way of life. Thus there is in it books by men such as Tolstoy, Ruskin, Thoreau and others who influenced Gandhi's thinking in a definite way. Literature concerning India's struggle for independence as well as bearing on her present-day problems is included. The books are arranged language-wise and classified under sections such as biography, pacifism, religion, social ethics, politics, labor, village industries, education, health and dietetics, literature, etc. The compiler has in several instances put down very brief notes along with factual data about each book.

A look at the bibliography gives one the feeling of awe at the magnitude of one single individual's influence upon his fellow men. Here are 2800 books that millions of people have read in the unending quest for Truth. Till the moment that the bullets of the assassin struck him this man carried on that supreme search. And now that he is left behind, and the caravan of mankind marches on, here is some food it will cherish along the eternal journey.

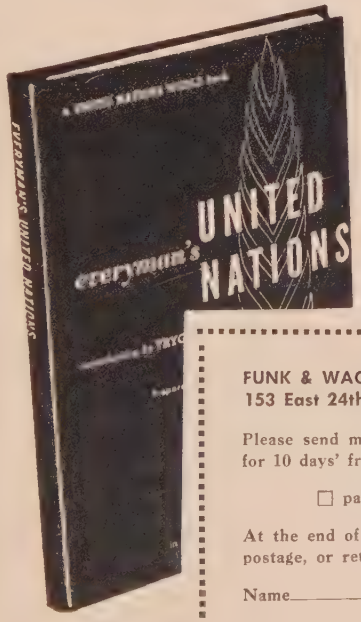
An indispensable guide to the **UN**
—the one organization today which holds out hope to man

everyman's
UNITED NATIONS

Prepared by the UN Department of Public Information
With an introduction by TRYGVE LIE, Secretary General

HERE is an accurate, informative, authoritative guide to the United Nations, its purposes and principles, its functions and powers . . . written for all the "peoples" of the world, in whose name the UN was founded.

Everyman's UNITED NATIONS deals not only with the political and security aspects of the UN, so frequently highlighted in the world's press. It also explains those less spectacular but no less important efforts to improve economic and social conditions . . . to remove the barriers to world trade . . . to eradicate social evils . . . to be sure that accurate information shall be freely available. It discusses in some details the special agencies — those inter-governmental organizations working in the economic, social, educational, health and related fields, which are linked by agreements with the United Nations. It furnishes a selected bibliography of UN publications.



■ It is up to all of us to help make the UN work. To do so we need factual information about what it is, its purposes, principles, functions and powers. Here it is in this splendid book. Paper-bound, $1.00. At all bookstores, or send this coupon.

A
UNITED NATIONS
WORLD BOOK

FUNK & WAGNALLS COMPANY
153 East 24th St., New York 10, N. Y.

Please send me _____ copies of everyman's UNITED NATIONS for 10 days' free examination on approval.

☐ paper-bound $1.00

At the end of ten days I agree to remit $_____, plus a few cents postage, or return the book(s) postpaid.

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ Zone____ State_____ UN-649

World Books *continued*

The Inter-American Regional System
by Charles G. Fenwick. New York, The Declan X. McMullen Company. $1.50.

Reviewed by Earle K. James
Lecturer at the New School for Social Research

The principles by which the American republics shape their hemispheric relations stand out as a unique New World contribution to international living, and Dr. Charles G. Fenwick, director of the Department of International Law and Organization of the Pan American Union, has done well to present their essence within the compass of a brief book. In three sections he considers a historical background that deals briefly with Bolivar's pioneer attempts and the first Pan-American conferences starting in 1889; the period of modern development which Dr. Fenwick sees as starting with the embryonic "collective security" proposals of Wilson and Bryan and culminating with Chapultepec and Bogotá; and the relations of the inter-American system with the United Nations.

Unfortunately, the scant 70 pages of text —originally three short lectures—prove a narrow stage for the exposition of the theme. Dr. Fenwick, who has contributed greatly to the shaping of the Pan-American system, rightly points out that any one of the three sections might justify a volume. Even another 40 pages or so would have brought out more clearly many points too briefly treated and would have made his book a better answer to the need for a concise presentation of the hemisphere concept of peace. It is to be hoped Dr. Fenwick has another more extensive work on this subject in mind.

Ideological Differences and World Order
Edited by F. S. C. Northtrop, New Haven, Yale University Press. $4.50.

Reviewed by Tibor Koeves
UNW's Book Editor

This scholarly work bears a misleading title. The curently accepted use of the world "ideology" means a potitical philosophy, while here we find a collection of essays on the nature of some fundamental cultural phenomena of the Western and Far Eastern societies, such as "The Philosophy at the Basis of Traditional Chinese Society," "Philosophies and Economic Theories in Modern Occidental Culture," "Soviet Law and Its Assumptions," "The New Deal as a Cultural Phenomenon," and a dozen or more others.

In themselves the individual essays are brilliant almost without exception, but the work as a whole has not been sufficiently integrated. No synthesis has been attempted; no conclusion drawn that would aid the reader to evaluate and place the parts in the framework of a general thesis. Perhaps this is asking the impossible. For it might be said that a scientific demonstration of how cultural phenomena create differences and harmonies among societies would be tantamount to solving all our problems—a utopian demand.

Nevertheless, the excellence of the contributions, the admiration one conceives for their authors, makes one wish for a less esoteric approach to the main theme of the book. At the same time this is a pioneering work whose pattern will probably be a great inspiration to the development of a science of comparative cultures capable of applying its findings to living societies.

Asian Relations. Being the Proceedings and Documentation of the First Asian Relations Conference, New Delhi, March-April, 1947. New Delhi, The Asian Relations Organizations. Distributed in the United States by the Institute of Pacific Relations, New York. $4.00.

Reviewed by Betty Stones
Expert on Far Eastern Anthropology

In March, 1947, the representatives of 2 nations comprising half of the world's mi lions met at Delhi in the fort built by th Afghan emperor, Sher Shah in 1540 A.I As reported by the newsreels it seemed t Western eyes to be a carnival of costume and exotic banners; but it may well hav pointed out new directions of history, an laid deep foundations of fundamenta change of world import.

These summary records of the Confe ence are a mine of up-to-date informatio about Asia, and a multitude of glimpse into the disturbances, discontents, hope and demands of the Oriental people Those who are moved by the moral vigo of Pandit Nehru, and the poetic vigor o the late Mrs. Sarojini Naidu will be espe cially interested in the verbatim speeche of these two great leaders, and perhaps i those of lesser known unique personalitie

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE

MILAN—A remarkable first novel: *Il Campo*—"The Camp"—by Guido Lopez has been published by Mondadori. The very young author tells the story of a boy, Robert, who becomes a man in the difficult environment of a refugee camp in Switzerland. Aside from the tenderly and well-told story of an adolescent's re-awakening to love, friendship and sorrow, the strength of the novel lies in a strong affirmation of virtue—a rarity in the pessimistic literary atmosphere of the postwar era. "We are tired of being evil," says Robert. "We want to find the strength and the way to be good without being ashamed." . . . Two new nonfiction books deal with the history of the war and of the Resistance. One is by Dino Alfieri, former Italian ambassador to Berlin: *Due Dittatori de Fronte*—"Portraits of Two Dictators" (Rizzoli). The other continues where the Alfieri book ends: at the moment when Mussolini was ousted. *La Riscossa*—"The Comeback"—by Raffaele Cadonna tells the story of the Italian *Resistenza* from the point of view of a professional soldier.

LONDON—Dr. David Thomson of Cambridge University is preparing a volume on *Equality*. He examines historical and contemporary implications of the affirmations in the UN Charter of "the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small." His aim is to clarify the democratic idea of equality in the light of such contemporary notions as full employment, social security, freedom from fear and want and sovereign equality of the nations.

PRAGUE—The first play on the Czechoslovakian Five-Year Plan—*Grinder Karhan's Shift*—was recently produced in Prague. Written by Václav Kana, a 44-year-old metal worker, the play presents the various types of people making up the workers' society in Czechoslovakia and takes place almost entirely in a factory . . . For the past year the Czechoslovakian Village Theater touring the country with a repertoire which includes the plays of Shakespeare, Wilde, Shaw and Checkhov has given over 1600 performances to village audiences totalling over 250,000. The Theater has 10 separate groups as well as a puppet show.

PARIS—The UNESCO Book Coupon plan is making it possible for countries with "soft" currencies to buy books and magazines from "hard" currency countries. About $150,000 worth of book coupons—in denominations of $.25. $1.00, $3.00 and $10.00—have so far been distributed among 13 countries by UNESCO for the 1949 experimental period. Most of the coupons were paid for with sterling or French francs. Some of them were given free of charge to certain European countries under the UNESCO Educational Reconstruction Fund. Institutions and private individuals can buy coupons with their own national currency, and with the coupons buy books from any of five countries—US, UK, France, Czechoslovakia and Switzerland. The American Booksellers' Association is handling coupon purchases in the US.

WORLD TRADE

REBUILDING HOLLAND—ECA WHEAT IS DELIVERED TO A DUTCH WINDMILL NEAR ROTTERDAM BY A TRUCK

WILLIAM L. BATT and CURTIS E. CALDER

Appraise what's right and what's wrong with the ITO

The Author—SKF'S BATT

William L. Batt emphasizes

What's Right With the ITO

THE PRESIDENT OF SKF INDUSTRIES INSISTS THAT THE ONLY WAY THE US CAN PROTECT ITS MARSHALL PLAN INVESTMENT IS FOR THE US SENATE TO RATIFY THE INTERNATIONAL TRADE ORGANIZATION'S CHARTER

BILLIONS of Marshall Plan dollars will have been wasted if the flow of goods produced by a resurgent Western Europe is dammed up against new high barriers that threaten once more to restrict world trade. To prevent that waste, by banishing or lowering those barriers, is the aim of the Charter for the International Trade Organization.

The purpose of ERP dollars is to increase industrial and agricultural output. The purpose of the ITO Charter is to help the ERP alignment, together with all other nations, to exchange their wares beyond their own borders, to export more and import more, and to do both in a global market that expands rather than contracts. Hence, the ITO Charter picks up where the Marshall Plan leaves off. It is designed to safeguard the world market against the delusions of economic isolationism which, between the wars, gave rise to financial, industrial and commercial nationalism, with its trade discriminations, tariff reprisals and the anarchy of autarchy.

Inevitably many basic trade patterns of the interwar years can never be restored any more than the United Kingdom or France can recover some of their former income from overseas investments.

To cope with today's trade problems, a legacy of the titantic disruptions of war, to work out the necessary shifts and adjustments in an orderly manner requires an international instrumentality, with tenure beyond the ERP and scope broader than the GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, see UNW June, 1948).

The ERP is temporary by definition and GATT is limited by design. Unless we demonstrate our determination to stand by the Havana Charter for an International Trade Organization (which is our brainchild and one that succeeds in establishing the imprint of private enterprise upon world trading); unless we are prepared to complete the blueprint we started back in 1944 for a permanent system to deal with the basic international economic problems; unless we are willing to participate in the only agency specifically blueprinted to deal with problems relating to the international exchange of goods and services; unless we are ready to take these affirmative positions, we must expect to see our world leadership and its achievements deteriorate.

The Engineer's mind in World Trade

Although the appellation "industrial statesman" is bandied about too often and too loosely, a brilliant minority of US businessmen deserves that over-worked designation. William L. Batt is one of them. He represents a point of view that takes into account US membership in the world economic community as a crucial challenge to American businessmen, to their imagination, their stamina, and ability to exploit the opportunity to demonstrate to other peoples the values and validity of the system for which they are both leaders and trustees.

Mr. Batt has been president of the SKF industries (Svenska Kullergerfabriken)—ball bearings—for 26 years. As Vice Chairman of the War Production Board his practical insight into the complicated industrial "flow chart," i.e., the step by step movement of raw goods to finished product to the fighting front, was invaluable in licking the gigantic job of supplying matériel to the US Armed Forces during World War II.

A native of Indiana and a graduate of Purdue University, where he took his degree in Mechanical Engineering in 1907, Mr. Batt was awarded the Gantt Gold Medal in 1940 jointly by the American Society of Mechanical Engineers and the Institute for Scientific Management. His case for the ITO reflects the thinking of a man trained in modern engineering and management techniques and the application of both to the question of world trade and America's role in it.

We then would be left to face the consequences. Concretely, these would be: that the rest of the world would charge us with repudiation of the reciprocal responsibilities to which we are committed in the United Nations; that we would seriously damage confidence in, and effectiveness of, the World Bank and the International Fund; that we would undercut the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, which we worked so hard to establish, and that we would largely nullify the impressive gains now being made under the European Recovery Program.

The Interim Report on ERP published recently by the Organization for European Economic Co-operation, makes it evident (1) that the four-year programs of the separate Marshall Plan countries cannot be coordinated without major adjustments in their projected trade; (2) that the gains in production will not serve to support economic stability unless markets for surpluses can be assured after American aid ceases in June 1952; (3) that the challenge is vaster than merely to devise substitutes to take up the slack resulting from the loss of $2 billion of prewar invisible income in Western Europe.

Everyone admits the need for a workable and flexible instrumentality to encourage economic expansion and the exchange of goods around the world. To be effective, any such agency must necessarily have the widest possible membership within the framework of the UN to maintain regularized co-operative contacts among nations. An agency of this kind is crucial to the success of US foreign economic policy which is based on bold realistic plans for world recovery (see Willard Thorp's "Spelling Out Point Four," UNW, May 1949).

The question as to whether or not the Havana Charter measures up to all these needs is not to be answered by examining every single clause in this long and complex document with a magnifying glass to see if it satisfies every minute and hypothetical interest.

Without even looking at this document we can tell from its very nature that it will not conform to perfectionist standards. In the first place, it deals with extremely involved and delicate matters of policy for both private and public business. In the second place, it had to be framed to enable 54 nations with varying economic systems, human and material resources, ideas and techniques and stages of economic development, to find a common ground. Obviously, if these 54 nations could sign a document that would completely satisfy everyone of them, there would have been no need for the document itself—for all the perplexities with which it deals would not exist.

The Havana Charter, therefore, must be appraised in terms of its ability to establish multilateral consultation for handling world trade issues and for its capacity to set up methods for easing frictions and fostering co-operation. The Havana Charter is an attempt to gain worldwide acceptance for a comprehensive set of rules to govern trade among nations. To be sure, there already exist countless treaties between country A and country B on specific trade matters.

Thus, we in the US have a backlog of experience with treaties of Commerce, Navigation and Friendship which cover some or all of these points. But never before has there been the attempt to deal in a single package, through the medium of a single agreement, not only with tariffs and quotas and other limitations on trade, but also with such devices as cartels, commodity pacts, state trading controls, which can impede international trade quite as effectually as the imposition of excessive duties.

The Havana Charter provides detailed codes to resolve all these questions. Furthermore, it sets forth a

What's Right with ITO *continued*

constitution to establish the International Trade Organization. Of course, many people ask why have an ITO when the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade already exists and has proved such a satisfactory device to deal with tariffs and other similar barriers to trade. They point out that under its aegis, 23 of the major foreign trading countries in the world have been able to reach an agreement to reduce the tariff or to fix the status of 45,000 items covering 51 per cent of the world imports. What more do we really need, they inquire, in effect. There are three answers to this query:

(1) The GATT is concerned primarily with tariffs and quotas and with invisible barriers to trade. It has no power to deal with cartels or allocations of markets or preferential commodity agreements and other devices which, in the past, have undermined progress made by reducing tariffs and eliminating quotas. In this respect, President Truman, in transmitting the bill on the ITO to Congress, declared: "Trade agreements alone are not enough . . . [they] do not touch certain important obstacles to the expansion of world trade. Subsidies, cartels and many other devices have important effects in limiting trade or creating disadvantages for one country as compared with another. What is needed is co-operative action to attack the whole range of obstacles that stand in the way of broadening international trade."

(2) The General Agreement has only informal machinery for carrying out its provisions. It lacks any permanent staff to assure continuing supervision.

(3) If we let the ITO Charter die, and fall back on GATT, we might well lose GATT itself. Accord on GATT was reached only after six arduous months and 123 separate sets of negotiations among 23 nations, on the assumption that there was going to be a comprehensive world trade charter like that for the ITO. Failure of the US to ratify the Charter could cause many countries to withdraw from GATT and spell its end—the end of the beginning of order and rationale and predictability in the patch-work of international trade.

The immense diversity of problems and the conflicts they engender in this whole field make it doubly necessary for the ITO to function as a specialized agency within the UN. It supplements not only the World Bank and Fund but also the statistical research and analysis done by the UN's various economic commissions.

Whether or not the proposed ITO can become a vital appendage of the UN's Economic and Social Council, and thus complete that network of global economic agencies originally sponsored by the US governmet, will largely depend on whether or not the 81st Congress approves the Charter and what it signifies. Moreover, since the Charter is based on ideas of global economic co-operation initiated by the US government, other countries will not endorse it unless and until we show our willingness to participate. Australia, for example, which has tentatively approved the Charter, has made its ratification conditional upon its acceptance by the US.

The record of the postwar years has demonstrated that what Adam Smith called the "trade of nations" has become the vitalizing force to sustain recovery in Western Europe, to industrialize underdeveloped areas, and to continue US exports at levels that can maintain and enlarge our own prosperity.

Without the International Trade Organization none of these objectives can be wholly achieved.

*The ITO—Step by Step**

1941—August—On the high seas—Point 7 of the Atlantic Charter reflects the crusade of Cordell Hull, then US Secretary of State, to liberate the exchange of goods and services among nations from tariff and other trade restrictions.

1945—October to January—Washington, D.C.—Discussions centering around US loan of $3,750,000,000 to Britain further crystallize need for an international code of fair trade practices.

1946—April—Washington, D.C.—US State Department sets forth its "Proposals for Expansion of World Trade and Employment" as precursor of US foreign economic policy in the postwar period.

1946—September—Washington, D.C.—US economic experts enlarge this document into working draft for an International Trade Organization as part of the United Nations.

1946—December to 1947 February—London—Preparatory Committee of the UN Conference on Trade and Employment recommends important changes in the proposed Charter for an International Trade Organization.

1947—September-October—Geneva—Spokesmen for twenty-three countries revise proposed ITO Charter, anticipate its application by signing the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT).

1947—November to 1948 March—Havana—Delegates from 55 countries attend UN Conference on Trade and Employment. All but two (Argentina and Poland) sign the proposed ITO Charter in final form, pending ratification by their respective governments.

1949—May to August—Annecy—Representatives of 36 countries meet further to clarify, interpret and enlarge GATT by negotiating another round of tariff concessions as prologue to adoption of the Charter and the start of ITO as a going concern.

Current status: Rest of world awaiting US Senate's ratification of Charter as signal to move ahead and try to make the ITO the global gyroscope and traffic policeman for a new kind of world trade based on the precepts of free competitive enterprise.

**For background on ITO see articles in 1948 issues of UNW—by the Editors (May and June), by William L. Clayton (June), Morris Rosenthal (November).*

The Havana Charter for the ITO has found both support and at times surprisingly inconsistent opposition in the business world. The same critic tells us, for example, that the Charter is too weak and that the Organization itself will be too strong. We are told it is too loose and too rigid, that it will destroy our free enterprise system, and that it does not have sufficient power to correct other countries' "wrong ways."

The opponents of the Charter fall into two principal groups: those who have always fought any effort to reduce our tariff or to increase the area and scope of international co-operation; and those who yearn for the "good old days" when gold was an accepted international currency and payments between countries were adjusted by simple methods.

The tragic fact of life is that the world is sorely out of joint and that the profound economic unbalance caused by the war cannot be corrected overnight. Nor will it be corrected without constantly taking into consideration the pressures under which all countries, including the US, are operating. The Charter, with all its admitted shortcomings and imperfections, is a realistic document exactly because it has taken full account of these conditions and has thus arrived at workable solutions through democratic compromise.

It is quite true that during the two and a half years of almost continuous international negotiations, the principles as first set forth by the US have been considerably qualified. It is also true, and this has not been denied by any of the opponents of the Charter, that for the most part these modifications in themselves are substantially qualified as to time and scope. Indeed, in most instances it is mandatory periodically to review the conditions causing exceptions.

The charter's complexity stems partly from this effort to define in detail the nature and extent of allowable exceptions. Recognition of the desirability of the private enterprise principles for which this country stands runs throughout the Charter.

THE PIN-POINT FLAWS UNDER THE MICROSCOPE

One of the most common criticisms of the Charter is that the concessions made to governments engaged, more or less, in planning will force "socialistic methods on the US." Such a conclusion is without any foundation whatsoever. There is nothing in the Charter, either in Chapter II which deals with employment or in the chapters which deal with economic development, cartels or commodity agreements, requiring member nations to go beyond their own internal laws and regulations in carrying out the provisions of the Charter.

In Chapter II, for example, members are requested to maintain "full and productive employment and a large and steadily growing demand" by using such measures as are "appropriate" to their "political, economic and social institutions." This language indicates the basic approach used throughout the Charter.

With every respect for the sincerity of those who may oppose the ITO, it is necessary to examine their arguments closely. We are sometimes told, for example, that a particular sub-paragraph is completely contrary to the basic objectives of the Charter. The whole meaning of a section is susceptible to distortion when treated in this manner.

One hears criticism of Article 21 (4b) on the basis that it might encourage countries to have continual balance-of-payment difficulties arising from "wrong" employment policies. Confusion is created by failing to note that the purpose of Article 21 as a whole is to obligate members to use all possible means to reduce balance-of-payment difficulties. This type of criticism represents a preoccupation with detail at the expense of perspective.

No supporter pretends the Charter is perfect. But it is realistic, and therefore it is a workable instrument for expanding world trade along the lines of non-discrimination and private enterprise.

Finally, it is the only such instrument available. None of the critics has yet stepped forward with a satisfactory alternative. To reject the Charter is to turn our backs on the only practical opportunity to translate into reality the basic policy of international economic co-operation which we have consistently championed before the whole world. The consequences of such a repudiation could only be serious injury to the effectiveness of our world leadership and a retrogression into economic anarchy at its worst.

In Britain

TRAVEL MEANS

BRITISH RAILWAYS

LAND—Swift, comfortable train service everywhere in the British Isles . . .

SEA—Railway-operated cross-channel services to Ireland and the Continent . . .

AIR—British Railways are official agents for British European Airways Corporation routes in Britain . . .

HOTELS—46—all conveniently located, associated with British Railways.

Be sure to purchase tickets and secure reservations for these services before you leave!

STAY LONGER—SEE MORE!

Plan your tour of Britain—and purchase transportation in advance. That way you'll save the 25% on tour fares granted Americans from British port of entry!

CONSULT YOUR LOCAL TRAVEL AGENT

or any of the British Railways offices shown below for tickets, reservations and authoritative travel information on the British Isles:

NEW YORK 20, N. Y., 9 Rockefeller Pl.
CHICAGO 3, ILL., 39 So. LaSalle St.
LOS ANGELES 14, CAL., 510 W. 6th St.
TORONTO, ONT., 69 Yonge Street

For British Isles Travel Literature with color map, write Dept. 35 at any of these offices

BRITISH RAILWAYS

Beautiful

COUNTRY HOUSE

on Long Island Sound

½ hour distance from Lake Success

Spacious house on 5½ acres with *private beach,* old trees, enchanting view. Generous six bedrooms, 4 baths, large hall, living & dining room. Kitchen, pantry, laundry, garage and apartment for caretaker. *Complete privacy.* For rent—3 years minimum or for sale.

Address inquiries to:

M. VERTES

140 West 57th St., New York 19, N. Y.

The Author—EB&S's CALDER

Curtis E. Calder emphasizes

What's Wrong With the ITO

CHAIRMAN OF THE NAM INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE DECLARES THAT THE HAVANA CHARTER ESTABLISHES CONDITIONS WHICH ARE INIMICAL TO AMERICAN BUSINESS AND URGES THAT THE US SENATE REFUSE TO RATIFY

AMERICANS are not unmindful of the hopes and fears of the people in the little town of, say, Montbazon, France—and of people like them all over the world. They've had bountiful proof of our generosity. But in contemplating new international proposals, let's give some thought also to the citizens of Wabash, Indiana—and people like them throughout the United States.

Right now, 20 cents out of every dollar the people of Wabash, and all Americans, pay out in federal taxes goes to international commitments. They have not begrudged the use of their money and resources abroad for emergency aid and economic recovery. But they don't want those sacrifices wasted. Should they now be asked to give up also their country's right to trade in world markets on equal terms with the nations to which they already have given so much? This is what they are expected to do by the Havana Charter for an International Trade Organization.

Undoubtedly, the world is sorely in need of an instrument with which to whittle down the nationalistic obstructions which prevent re-establishment of more freely flowing, multilateral and non-discriminatory international trade.

There should be an International Trade Organization, to serve as such an instrument. But the International Trade Organization prescribed in the Havana Charter is one of the deep disappointments of the postwar era.

Chapter by chapter, article by article, this ITO Charter is a document which not only contributes nothing toward the fulfillment of American hopes for an unshackled world economy, but actually, in its numerous "exceptions" and "authorizations," leaves the foreign trade of the United States at the mercy of almost every import quota and exchange control device, every cartel, monopoly and commodity deal, every restrictive and discriminatory trade practice, which nationalistic economic planning may invoke or create.

It was not easy for us in the National Association of Manufacturers to reach the conviction that Congress should reject the Havana Charter.

We were one of the four national business organizations which sponsored the International Business Conference in Rye, N. Y., in November 1944. That conference favored adoption of a multilateral trade convention and establishment of an interna-

The Board-Room Mind in World Trade

When President Truman tapped Curtis E. Calder for the post of Secretary of the Army, industrial groups with influence in the White House were doubly gratified. In the first place, Mr. Calder is a "businessman's businessman" in that he sees national and international issues primarily from the standpoint of their effect upon the US business community. In the second place, he is a competent if somewhat stiff executive, in the clean-desk tradition, with the added gift of keeping his head and temper in difficult conferences and negotiations. It is this latter attribute which likewise endeared Mr. Calder to the generals who, in the inter-service rivalry that remains the Pandora's Box on the Potomac, wanted someone to press their views with skill and cogency.

Chairman of the Board of Electric Bond and Share, Mr. Calder has served as public governor of the New York Stock Exchange, and as director general of the War Production Board in 1943. He is also a director of the National City Bank, and of the United States and Foreign Securities Corporation. While Mr. Batt endorses the ITO as head of the Committee for the International Trade Organization, Mr. Calder disapproves of it as head of the NAM's International Relations Committee.

tional economic organization. As then conceived, the convention would commit the contracting parties to the progressive lowering of tariff barriers; elimination of quotas and import embargoes; incorporation of the most-favored-nation clause in all commercial treaties; abandonment of discriminatory trade practices, and of national sales and production monopolies which, in effect, discriminate against foreign producers.

To these principles we remain faithful. The Havana Charter doffs its hat politely to them, but passes on to a real embrace with statism and nationalistic planning.

When the State Department, a year after the Rye Conference, proposed an International Trade Organization, we welcomed the idea with high hopes, and closely followed the course of negotiations. Grave weaknesses in successive drafts of the Charter frequently were drawn to the attention of State Department officials. We repeatedly pointed out to American negotiators that various provisions, if accepted, would place in jeopardy the international position of this country, as well as the entire future of that kind of world economy in which private enterprise can yield its best results.

The discussions, first at Geneva, and later at Havana, made it clear that no document which would establish a multilateral, non-discriminatory world trading system, for which most Americans hoped, could gain majority approval.

The question confronting the American delegates was, "Should we take the document that could be agreed upon, even though it was unsatisfactory?" They answered in the affirmative. Since their signatures committed them merely to submitting the Charter for approval the same question is now before Congress.

Frequently it is contended that the Charter should be ratified, despite its faults, because it may be possible to revise it later. The entire Charter comes up for re-examination at the end of five years from the establishment of the ITO.

This seems reasonable—until the ITO's voting procedure, adopted at Havana, is considered. One vote is given to each country, regardless of its share in international commerce. How likely is it that the Charter can be improved? With one vote, the US would have no power to amend the Charter, even with the help of countries of like mind.

It is also pointed out that if the US doesn't like the ITO, it can withdraw at the end of three years. World trade is difficult at present; we believe it would be more difficult, certainly from the US viewpoint, under the Havana Charter—but it would be utterly chaotic if this country joined the ITO for three years and then abandoned it.

Moreover, if the US joined, provisions of the Charter would prevent it from engaging in alternative courses of action to rebuild multilateral trade on a non-discriminatory basis. It is a fact that the Charter imposes discrimination and quantitative trade restrictions—allowing no retaliation.

This, of course, is why some countries would like to see an ITO established, provided the US is a member. But it is the principal reason this country should refuse to join.

The members of the NAM's International Relations Committee, and of its Advisory Group, have made detailed studies of the Charter's provisions. Our criticisms are made not captiously, but in a spirit of genuine regret over the gradual departure from the principles which we believe essential to the rebuilding of a prosperous and free world economy.

I shall present here the essentials of the conclusions reached, after careful scrutiny and analysis of the Charter, by the NAM's International Relations Committee.

First, the Havana Charter legalizes import quotas and discrimination.

If a country runs into balance-of-

What's Wrong With the ITO *continued*

payments difficulties, Article 21 allows it to "restrict the quantity or value of merchandise permitted to be imported" through the application of import quotas. Import quotas, maintained for any length of time, lead to exercise of comprehensive controls over the entire foreign trade of a country. The right to discriminate by products also is granted by Article 21. Article 23 permits still other kinds of discrimination.

Neither import quotas nor exchange control ever can be applied in a non-discriminatory manner. Clearly, by their very nature they lead to discrimination.

Balance-of-payments difficulties are most often the result of domestic policies—planning for "full employment" or for economic development —as Article 21 recognizes.

With this admitted, two roads opened to the Charter authors. One was to declare that ITO members have an obligation to pursue domestic policies which would help keep their foreign accounts balanced. The other was to subordinate the maintenance of balance-of-payments equilibrium to the requirements of uninhibited national planning.

The second course—nationalistic and socialistic—was followed. Article 21, 4b, says in effect that a country may do anything it wishes to upset its balance of payments, and then may apply import quotas and trade restrictions.

In addition, Article 6 propounds the principle of economic "insulation": a country is to be free to restrict and control its foreign trade in order to "safeguard" itself against economic trends of the outside world.

It was nationalistic planning—carried out in disregard of its effects upon the rest of the world—which gave impetus to the disintegration of the world economy in the 1930's.

Quantitative trade controls and discriminatory practices led away from multilateral trade and toward "bilateralism." This is the trading system set up by the Havana Charter.

Economic development programs are another excuse under the Charter for applying restrictions. In spite of an apparent "prior approval" requirement for trade restrictions "underdeveloped" countries plan to adopt, the ITO is obliged under Article 13, 7, to approve cases covering so wide an area as to safeguard almost fully the right of these countries to adopt trade restrictions at will.

WHEN IS A PRINCIPLE? AND WHEN AN EXCEPTION?

It can be stated accurately that Articles 13, 21 and 23 of the Charter, supported by the general directives contained in Article 6, establish the priority of economic nationalism over international co-operation. Altogether, they hold no promise whatever of a future revival of multilateral, non-discriminatory trade. On the contrary, they make such a revival most difficult to achieve.

A second major criticism is that the international trade position of the United States is made precarious under the Charter.

Countries in balance-of-payments difficulties, and so-called "underdeveloped countries," are given the right in the Charter to apply quantitative restrictions and trade discrimination.

In the world today, the United States is the nation least likely to have balance-of-payments difficulties. It could not invoke Articles 21 or 23.

While it is by no means clear what is meant by "underdeveloped" countries, that status scarcely could be claimed by this country.

With the exception of Switzerland, the United States was the only country represented at Havana to which the Charter's exceptions from the principles of multilateral, non-discriminatory trade cannot be applied. In other words, the so-called principles of the Charter apply only to the United States and Switzerland. All other countries represented at Havana have the right to practically complete freedom of action by virtue of one or another, or of several, "exceptions" under the Charter.

A principle which binds one country only is no longer a principle. An exception that applies to practically everybody is no longer an exception.

That is not all. Articles 16 and 17 would oblige this country to negotiate tariff reduction with other members of the ITO, and to apply to all of them the most-favored-nation treatment. Tariffs are the only major trade restrictions practiced by the US. In most other countries they play a minor role as compared to import quotas and exchange control. Obliged to accept discrimination by other countries, the US must, under the Charter, grant to those very countries complete equality of treatment.

Thus, in a world in which economic nationalism in all its forms is given the green light, the US alone is prevented from defending itself in kind when its trade is hurt by restrictions and discriminations practiced by other members of the ITO.

A third weakness in the Charter, from the NAM viewpoint, is that it prevents further attempts to abolish quantitative trade restrictions and other discriminations.

Under it, the US can make no trade agrements outside the ITO. If the Havana Charter were rejected by Congress, we could seek agreement with some countries, at least, on the suppression of import quotas and discriminations. Our *quid pro quo* would involve reduction of our own tariff rates. Should we join the ITO, we could not engage in any further bilateral negotiations aimed at the suppression of quantitative trade restrictions and discriminations.

A fourth point is that the Charter would undermine the world position of privately-conducted foreign trade.

Since, under the Charter, socialistic planning is everywhere given the right-of-way, currents of trade can at any time be modified by unilateral action of governments. Every government—except in practice, the US and Switzerland—can alter the structure of its import trade in order to give priority to the importation of those products which are more essential in the light of its policies.

How is privately-conducted foreign trade to flourish in such a climate? Private-enterprise trade expands and prospers and creates general well-being if allowed to follow the lines of economic efficiency in a climate of freedom from artificial restrictions.

Throughout the Charter, especially in Chapter II on "Employment," and III on "Economic Development," there is a strong bias in favor of national economic planning, while the requirements of private enterprise are disregarded completely or brushed off in an incidental sentence.

A fifth criticism is that the Charter leaves the door wide open to monopolistic practices.

Generalized systems of governmental controls over the entire foreign trade of a country tend to result in governmental trade monopolies. There is every reason to expect that the scope of governmental trade monopolies will expand under the Charter, and that the position of private enterprise will become increasingly precarious.

Chapter V, on "Restrictive Business Practices," does not appreciably modify the position of cartels in the world economy. It allows complaints to be made, and outlines a procedure for dealing with them. But nothing in the Chapter resembles even distantly a moderate version of anti-trust commitments.

Furthermore, Chapter VI allows wide scope to inter-governmental commodity agreements, with all their vast potentialities for restricting production and trade. These provisions are especially dangerous to an expanding world economy, because they are not conceived as emergency measures of short duration but as quasi-permanent arrangements over five-year periods.

There seems to be in the Charter an assumption that restrictive arrangements, if carried out by governments, are less prejudicial to world prosperity than private cartels. This unacceptable viewpoint is in keeping with the general bias of the document.

The sixth important objection to the Charter is in the drafting of its investment provisions.

These were introduced into the Charter presumably to help create a climate in which private foreign investment could be resumed on an increasing scale. As they have turned out, however, they will not have that effect.

It is true that Article 11 (b) states that "no Member shall take unreasonable or unjustifiable action within its territory injurious to the rights or interests of nationals of other Members in the enterprise, skills, capital, arts or technology which they have supplied." But unfortunately, Article 12 outlines a status for foreign investors which provides no encouragement to those who consider venturing abroad with their capital.

Just as other sections of the Charter very effectively prevent the revival of multilateral, non-discriminatory trade, so Article 12 would not encourage the revival of private foreign investments.

To summarize, the NAM believes the Havana Charter should be rejected because:

- It sanctions international trade principles and practices in direct opposition to the principles of freer, non-discriminatory, multilateral trade.
- The Charter would subject America's foreign trade to innumerable attacks but leave us powerless to retaliate.
- It fails to reach the objectives of non-discriminatory, multilateral trade but makes it impossible for this country to make other attempts toward that goal.
- The Charter imperils privately-conducted foreign trade and makes the world safe for socialistic planning.
- It leaves the doors wide open to cartels and other monopolistic practices.
- The Charter's provisions are not such as to encourage the international flow of private capital.

At this point in its history, the United States is in a position where its prosperity depends upon the prosperity of the world. The health of its own economic institutions depends upon the successful rebuilding of a world economy in which man's individual endeavor is given the maximum of opportunity and in which trade can flow free from major restrictions.

Realizing all this, the NAM enthusiastically welcomed the idea of an International Trade Organization. But the Havana Charter for such an Organization is not a fulfillment of its hopes, nor even a faint promise.

The Charter should be rejected—but this does not mean abandonment of efforts toward reconstruction of a well-knit world economy and eventual creation of a true International Trade Organization. The NAM is pledged to work unrelentingly for the re-etsablishment of multilateral. non-discriminatory world trade, as a framework for enhanced individual opportunity and well-being of all.

Fly the Atlantic the Luxury Way

SABENA's service between New York and Europe is the last word in de luxe air travel. Fast, air-conditioned and pressurized DC-6's cross the Atlantic high above any weather disturbances.

No detail is overlooked to make your trip completely enjoyable, including delicious hot meals served with some of Europe's best chateau wines.

SABENA makes three flights weekly, New York-Brussels; serves all Europe, the Near East and Africa on frequent schedules.

Make reservations now, to assure desired going and return dates. See your Travel Agent, or

SABENA BELGIAN AIRLINES

422 Madison Ave., New York 17. PLaza 3-1800
208 S. La Salle St., Chicago 4. FRanklin 2-3870

or any SABENA office throughout the world

Scene in Bruges, the "Venice of the North." One of Belgium's picturesque cities.

An Interview with Gunnar Myrdal

THE UN'S CHIEF OF ITS ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR EUROPE

TELLS (WITH INTERPOLATIONS BY THE EDITORS) OF TRADE'S REVIVAL

Progress Report on Europe

DR. GUNNAR MYRDAL, Executive Secretary of the UN's Economic Commission for Europe, is an economist and sociologist of international renown. Formerly Sweden's Minister of Commerce and Trade, he is the author of many outstanding books, ranging from price theory to public finance, from housing to the role of the Negro in American life. To enable readers to get the most out of Dr. Myrdal's answers to questions of high policy, the editors of UNW have included extra background in the form of brief notes (within brackets). These data are based on the *Survey of Europe in 1948*, recently published by the ECE.

1 ***What are the ECE's major achievements during the past year?***

As a result of government co-operation in ECE, Europe is now much closer than she would otherwise have been to meeting her needs of the three basic raw materials of recovery: coal, steel and timber. Through ECE allocations, limited supplies of European coal have been distributed equitably. In response to the appeal of ECE, non-steel producing countries sacrificed their consumption of Ruhr coal to help steel manufacturing countries increase their output. This and other ECE measures in which Bizonia authorities also co-operated fully, contributed to raising Europe's 1948 crude steel production 10.5 million tons (29 per cent) above 1947. European production and trade in agricultural products, raw materials and equipment have also been increased by ECE action.

But perhaps the bigger achievement of ECE is that its existence and operation have been forces for integration. A high official in a Western government described ECE as a "most precious, nearly last, link" between East and West. Eastern officials have expressed the same view.

[For the first time since the end of World War II, Europe's industrial production surpassed that of 1938—up 16 per cent for Europe generally and up 27 per cent for the USSR, using a baseline of 1940 for the later. Labor productivity (output per man-hour) throughout Europe's industry has gone up some 9 per cent, during 1948. These heartening statistics, however, can be misleading. Taken by themselves, they comprise an impressive record of recovery. Yet the hard fact remains that even if this rate of improvement continues during the next five or 10 years, it will not cure the grievous poverty in which the majority of its people still live.

[Accumulation of investment capital which alone can provide heavy equipment, mechanization and large-scale operations is lagging despite ECA credits and grants in aid. It is a chief obstacle to the rise of productivity. In 1948 this amounted to 12 dollars a person, in 1938 prices, as against 65 dollars a person in the US. Without US aid, for example, Europe could have financed only two thirds of its overseas imports, including critical items, in 1948.]

2 ***What are the prospects of increased East-West economic co-operation during 1949-50?***

Practically all the trade agreements between Eastern and Western European countries for 1949 provide for a substantial increase in the volume of exchanges over 1948.

[Trade between Eastern and Western Europe in 1948 reached only 42 per cent of the pre-war volume. While the East continued to exchange its grain, furs, timber and coal for the West's machinery and other manufactured goods, difficulties in currency, balance of payments, and political orientation tended to impede expansion of this vital interchange.]

3 ***What will be the effect of the new Eastern European Economic Organization on ECE and on European economic relations?***

It is much too early to tell. The Eastern European Council for Mutual Economic Aid not having started work yet, it is impossible to assess what its results will be.

[This much, however, is clear: On a comparative basis, the sharpest increase was recorded by members of the Eastern European bloc among whom exchange of commodities was three times higher than in 1938, the last peacetime year. On the other hand, trade among the members of the Western bloc, while expanding some 20 per cent in 1948 above 1947, remained only slightly more than one half of the prewar figure. Overall, the volume of intra-European trade rose some $1000 million in 1948 as against 1947, but it still remains 30 per cent below prewar.]

4 ***Do you see any sign of a common European currency in the future?***

There are, so far, no signs of any unification of European currencies. Such a unification would pre-sup-

pose not only a common monetary and banking system, but also a real integration of all institutions which have a right to issue notes; this would, of course, involve some loss of national sovereignty. Furthermore, as long as European currencies are not convertible (excepting the Swiss franc and Portuguese escudo) there is little chance for any currency to become the usual means of exchange.

5 *How (if at all) does ECE tie up with the OEEC and the Marshall Plan?*

All of the countries participating in the Marshall Plan are members of ECE. Their delegations to ECE are in close contact with their representatives to OEEC. There is no duplication or overlapping in the work of the two organizations. Both are concerned with economic recovery, OEEC with that of its member countries, and ECE with that of all the countries of Europe. ECE has no money to loan or give away; its function is to bring the European governments together to help each other and themselves.

[Europe's volume of exports to the US rose by 19 per cent as compared with 1947, and was only 81 per cent of the 1938 figure, itself excessively low. In relation to 1937, a more "normal" year, exports totaled only 60 per cent. Moreover, analysis of the commodity composition of these exports discloses that they consist mainly of such specialized items as whisky, wines, furs, hand-blocked textiles, custom woolens, cheeses, precious stones, works of art, etc. At the same time, Europe's imports from the US, while some 45 per cent above the 1938 record, declined $1.4 billion or around 30 per cent as compared with 1947. They would have been considerably less if it were not for special programs conducted by the US in Germany, Austria, and the Mediterranean countries.]

THE UN—AND SWEDEN'S MYRDAL

6 *What has ECE accomplished in transport and housing?*

ECE has helped countries recover from the war destruction and disorganization of their rail transport: first, in encouraging the repair and standardization of rolling stock; and second, in facilitating traffic movements and bringing about the re-institution of prewar agreements permitting wagons to circulate freely in international traffic, while assuring better use and maintenance of rolling stock. Through ECE most of the countries of Europe have agreed upon a network of routes to be especially equipped for international traffic. Customs formalities have been simplified and liberalized for tourist motor vehicles, for lorries and busses in international traffic, and for goods crossing frontiers by road. Dutch lorries can now be seen in Prague, Hungarian lorries in Germany and Swedish busses on the French Riviera.

ECE has helped housing authorities and those industries which supply building materials by surveying Europe's housing needs and by cataloging Europe's requirements in building materials to meet both the "planned" and the larger "necessary" housing program. It has urged the application of mass production techniques in the building industry, while itself promoting the exchange of the latest achievements in building techniques.

7 *What are the prospects of big European co-operation schemes for the supply of hydro-electric power?*

All of the European countries whose support is needed for developing the most important resources have indicated their willingness to co-operate. Like the hydro resources themselves, the number of "big" international schemes is limited to about 10. Full *economic* development of these could and may be achieved in not more than 30 years. The most difficult problem will be to obtain adequate capital.

8 *How far do political and strategic considerations now hamper European governments in developing normal trade relationships?*

A psychologically unfriendly climate has, of course, some unfavorable influence on commercial exchanges. The importance of this influence is obviously impossible to assess. The only concrete case that can be quoted of the "cold war" preventing goods from moving, is the restriction of capital exports from the Bizonia to Eastern Europe, owing to the application of the United States policy of export licensing. But apparently only the export of direct war materials from other Western European countries has been restricted, and this is an insignificant volume of trade anyway.

9 *To what extent does ECE have real co-operation from (a) Eastern European governments, (b) Western European governments, (c) the USSR, (d) the United States?*

All of the governments have demonstrated real co-operation in ECE some of the time, most of them most of the time, and a few of them all of the time. Some of the Western governments are occasionally "hesitant." Some of the Eastern governments do not attend certain meetings which might offer them direct advantages. The work is sometimes handicapped by the inability of some governments to furnish necessary statistical information. Both the USSR and the US have contributed important initiatives which one might have expected to come earlier from other member countries. But considering that economic co-operation on the scale of that in ECE is something unprecedented in history, and that that co-operation is growing steadily in scope and intensity, one can temper small disappointments with big hopes.

Unity: *The missing keystone in US foreign economic policy*

An economic foreign policy for waging peace is quite as challenging and important as an economic foreign policy for waging war. The effect of the former now pervades every segment of our economy to an ever-increasing extent. Foreign trade has become the new frontier of the American enterprise system. Last year the US exported $12,600,000,000 worth of goods and imported more than $7,000,000,000 worth. If overseas sales suddenly ceased, more than a million farm workers and 2½ million wage earners and half a million white collar employees would immediately lose their jobs. Directly for more than 200 blue-chip corporations, and indirectly for the 85 thousand smaller firms that do business with them the 10 to 12 per cent margin of total gross accounted for by foreign sales may often be the difference between profit and loss, and even success or failure.

Forthcoming 'American Story' Articles

Future issues of UN WORLD *will feature the foreign operations of US business in Office Equipment, Steel, Industrial Machinery, World Banking and other vital fields.*

BY HERBERT HARRIS

Editor for Economic Affairs

THE economic foreign policy of the United States is today imperiled by a startling paradox.

Overseas, Americans are busy forging a new economic unity among ERP nations. US encouragement, in principle or practice, has given special impetus to the financial, industrial and agricultural plans of the Western Union and the UN Economic Commissions for Europe, Latin America, Asia and the Middle East. Americans are not only trying to help the various regional economic alignments to achieve higher output and currency stabilization but also to weld them into more effective trading areas. In sponsoring the ITO, the US is urging virtually all countries to abolish or lower tariffs and other impediments to the exchange of goods and services, and thus bring them closer together.

Economic fraternization has even become a new watchword on the Rhine, but it is not yet a byword along the Potomac. For on the home front the Americans are failing to develop unity among those groups who have a particularly crucial stake in US economic aims and actions abroad.

To be sure, in the military and diplomatic phases of foreign policy the US has a bi-partisan accord typified by Senators Vandenburg and Connally. But the economic side of foreign policy lacks any such unanimity. The Marshall Plan was supported more as a measure to contain Communism than as an indispensable instrument for building the kind of recovery in Europe upon which American prosperity henceforth will inevitably be substantially based. As the immediacy of the Soviet threat to control Western Europe recedes, the harmony achieved on the economic purposes and functions of the ERP becomes partial, and precarious. Even more confused are reactions to the ITO and Point Four.

The very disagreement over the ITO, as expressed on pages 46 to 53 in this issue by such outstanding spokesmen for US business as Messrs. Batt and Calder, highlights a condition which is basically hazardous.

It would seem that by invoking the American spirit of compromise it would have been possible to fashion an ITO Charter satisfactory in basic essentials to the National Association of Manufacturers and the US Chamber of Commerce and the Foreign Trade Council and the American Exporters Association and the like.

Of course, such agreement on the part of business associations, representing their own constituencies, would not alone suffice. The AFL and the CIO, and the Railroad Brotherhoods, and the Farm Bureau Federation and the Farmers Union should also have found in the Charter for the ITO a common ground with business.

The price the Kansas grain grower gets for his wheat cannot be entirely determined by government parity or subsidy payments or other supports, or speculations in the pit. That price is also determined by the harvests in Canada, Argentina, and Hungary, by the purchases of state trading organizations, and by what happens to such global commodity pacts as the proposed International Wheat Agreement.

Similarly, in the steel industry, the rise and fall of production, and profits and dividends and management salaries and labor "take-home" pay, are inseparably tied up with the size of US chrome and manganese imports, just as all these in the tire industry are influenced by the costs of raw rubber at Singapore, and in the railroad industry by car loadings for overseas destinations.

Similar examples could be cited endlessly. The crucial fact is that while US foreign economic policy daily impinges more intimately upon every citizen, it does not reflect the same kind of unity, of striving toward a common goal, that the nation is fostering abroad.

IT IS OFTEN argued that this is all to the good, that the clamor of pressure groups and the rivalry of special interests result in a "pluralism" which prevents any group or interest from wielding too much power.

This is a comfortable rationalization for semi-anarchy. But the stakes are too high to permit indulgence in any such platitude. America's world economic leadership, of which economic foreign policy is the symbol and instrument, imposes a need for national unity no less urgent, if less spectacular, than the need for national unity in war. It calls for co-ordination of economic effort, and much the same kind of participation and support on the part of business and labor and agriculture and almost everyone else which made it possible to win the war.

One answer might be the establishment of a Peace Production Board. It could act as clearing-house to pool the ideas, obtain agreement on objectives, and to guide the activities of all groups having a "concern," in the Quaker sense of the word, with economic foreign policy.

It could devise voluntary self-regulating procedures to enable Americans to think more clearly and more roughly about the magnitude of the responsibility they have assumed in underwriting world economic recovery and stability. After all, the US is not only trying to export goods but also ideas. It is not only trying to export the freedom and flexibility of its enterprise system but also the freedom and flexibility of democracy and the efficiency of both. When others look at the lack of well-defined programs, and of active and positive agreement on participation in a bloodless war against poverty, they wonder if Americans are not weak in the very co-operation they are urging others to demonstrate.

IT IS THIS deficiency which in part helps to explain the defensive, even the negative note of earlier attempts at "telling the American story." Without the certitude of a clear-cut policy, affirmatively endorsed by all factions within the economy, publicists in private business and government, in their efforts to have other nations understand us, have resorted to a revelation of the obvious, or to stale sloganizing.

UN WORLD is convinced that the American economic philosophy, harnessed to 20th Century technology, offers greater economic opportunity, security and advancement than any other set of beliefs, habits, and techniques. This conviction led last winter to a series of consultations with a cross-section of key figures in business, government, labor and agriculture here and abroad. The aim was to formulate an editorial approach which would enable America to get over to other peoples what the US economy means in world affairs.

The conclusion of this survey was that the vital need was a more complete integration of US economic foreign policy, and articulate and enthusiastic support for it from the grass roots to board room. Pending that development, however, another course would have to be pursued. It was felt that perhaps the most effective method for informing other countries about US free enterprise and its role in the world economy was to show, in case-history fashion, the connection between American business profits and improvement of living standards overseas by studying the operations of various US companies in foreign trade.

The result was the series, "Telling America's Story," which has been appearing in these pages since March.

The success of America's foreign economic policy—including Point Four—will depend not only on American ability to deliver goods and capital, but on getting non-Americans to grasp the motivations behind that performance. In March, we wrote: "The American businessman is a civilian seeking profit, and knowing that a constantly rising living standard is his best assurance of satisfying his need. . . . The preoccupation of US statesmen is, indubitably, peace—in which profit can be safely pursued. . . .

UNITED NATIONS WORLD is naturally pleased by the encouraging response to this series among businessmen and among diplomats, government officials, educators, and students of world affairs in this country and in more than 50 others. In the US itself, the UNW editorial approach has been taken up, in all sections of the country, by other magazines, newspapers and advertising organization. UNITED NATIONS WORLD is gratified that, initiating a trend, it has been able to supply a platform from which others can also speak, using the new lexicon of world economics.

An exclusive, and forthright, interview with

Asia's outstanding representative in the UN

Romulo Speaks Out

on . . . COMMUNISM IN ASIA

THE UNITED NATIONS IN ASIA

THE DUTCH IN INDONESIA

NEHRU

ASIA'S SUSPICION OF US MOTIVES

TRUMAN'S POINT FOUR

US POLICY IN JAPAN

ASIA'S 'THIRD FORCE'

1 ***How do the Communist victories in China affect the political balance of power in Asia?***

The Communist victories in China do not affect the balance of power in Asia alone. In the power struggle between the West and the Slav countries (I am purposely not using the customary designation of West and East because we of Asia are "The East"), the scales have now been heavily tipped to the left—whatever may happen in Europe. I believe that the Western policy of containing Communism in Europe has succeeded, but I also believe this success to be of minor importance in what is really a world war of ideologies. It may have been expedient in the framework of a military campaign to pursue a "Europe First" policy. But it is neither expedient nor, indeed, possible to pursue the same policy successfully in the political and ideological contest in which we are now engaged.

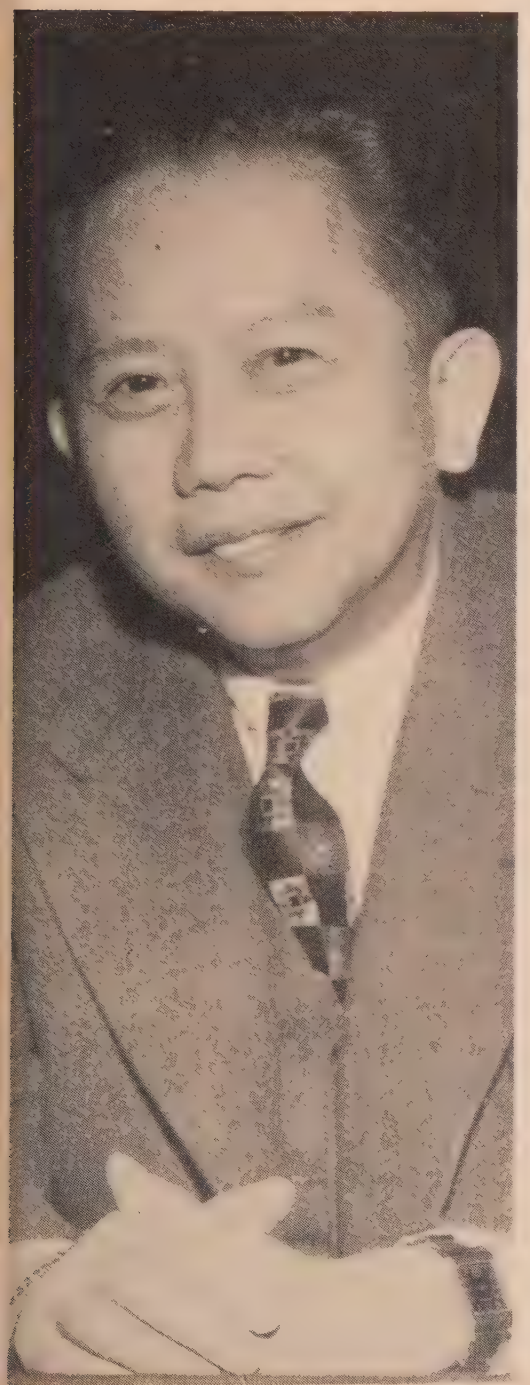
2 ***Does Communist domination of China porte a sweep of Communism throughout Asia?***

It most certainly does not. What the people of A want, need and will get, is independence from the g of colonialism. But the struggle of the Asian people nationhood and sovereignty has nothing to do with aims or ideas of Communism. Indonesia has proven th In the throes of her striving for nationhood, she to on at the same time her own battle against Communi The same is true of Burma, of Thailand and of my c country, the Philippines. There are forces, primarily course the Colonial Powers, which are interested in m ing the world think that the nationalist aspirations the Asian peoples are inescapably linked to Communi This is completely untrue. The people who have crea and are trying to maintain the bugaboo of "national equals communism" in Asia, do so only for the purp

of salvaging anachronistic (Colonial) political interests.

3 ***Are there other political forces and alignments in Asia that could enlist the support of the great masses in the Asian continent?***

What the peoples of Asia really want is a Third Force —in their governments, their economies and in their world political orientations. In fact, India, Pakistan, Thailand, Burma, Viet Nam, the Philippines, Indonesia, Australia, New Zealand and British Malaya already constitute a solid bloc of Third Force countries—countries that are non-Communist but not necessarily anti-Communist: countries which desire planned economies for their people, leaving scope, however, for private capital and private initiative.



In fact, we believe that a Third Force coming out of Asia will eventually become the catalyst that can produce a peaceful solution of the current world conflict.

4 ***What is the basic political philosophy of today's Asia?***

It is a fusion of material needs and spiritual values. It draws on the ancient and deep-rooted traditions of the Asian peoples, all of whom recognize spiritual values as the most important part of life. It attempts to blend this attitude with the techniques and know-how of the West. Even the Chinese Communists have found that in their philosophic approach they have to come to terms with the devotion of the Asian people to those spiritual values. Even Mao Tse-tung's counterpart of the Communist Manifesto contains a great many thoughts and attitudes that are completely alien to European Marxism. In fact, I personally believe—but this might be wishful thinking —that the oriental spirit which permeates even the Chinese Communists will turn out to be a Kremlin headache.

5 ***What are the most urgent problems of today's Asia?***

To eliminate, by democratic means, the three factors that produce the most fertile and virulent breeding ground for communism: colonialism, poverty and ignorance. We Asians have great resources—natural resources and human resources—that we can throw into the battle. But we must rely on the West for help, material help, technical help and capital.

6 ***What is the reaction in Asia to Point Four?***

In order to solve its most urgent problems Asia needs the "bold new program" that President Truman outlined in his inaugural address. In Point Four Asia sees the kind of leadership which it had always hoped and thought America would provide. Point Four promises the kind of life Asians want to live and the kind of societies they want to build. Possibly expanded at some later date into a Marshall Plan for Asia, Point Four will give to the peoples of Asia the tools they need to finish—in the way they want to finish it—the job which began with their struggles for liberation.

A Matter of Collaboration

Two individuals and a board were involved in this dynamite-laden article. The board, of UNW editors, prepared the questions. The lesser individual, Miss Ruth Karpf, a peripatetic young journalist who has an enviable flair for getting to important political figures, asked them and got the answers. The major individual was once an enterprising newspaperman himself, in Manila—then a wartime general, then a best-seller author ("Mother America") and popular lecturer. Since last September he has been chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee. When next September rolls round, Gen. Carlos Romulo of the Philippines may be President of the General Assembly of the UN.

Romulo Speaks Out *continued*

7 ***What positive contributions did the New Delhi conference make to the clarification of current issues?***

Ostensibly it was called only to discuss the Dutch-Indonesian conflict and demonstrate to the colonial powers that they would have to face the determined opposition of a bloc of Asian peoples if they insisted on maintaining their anachronistic stranglehold over the sovereignty of the peoples of Asia. In effect, however, the New Delhi Conference was even more than that. It was the organized expression of Asia's Third Force.

8 ***Will the groundwork laid in New Delhi be further extended and followed through?***

Emphatically yes. The people of Asia realize that from every viewpoint the principles formulated at New Delhi reflect accurately their aspirations and their needs. It would be easier and quicker to translate these principles into reality if the United States helped the process along with a really bold and far-reaching program of economic aid. But in any case, the peoples of Asia can be counted on to follow through on their own.

9 ***With China and India now struggling for the role of political leadership of Asia, how do you think this question will be settled?***

Personally, I profoundly admire Mr. Nehru. I think he is a great, far-seeing and courageous leader. However, what we need in Asia is unity, not leadership alone—unity on a basis of equality, respect and understanding, not on the basis of the strength and pull of any one personality whoever he may be.

10 ***How do you view the prospects for a satisfactory settlement in Indonesia?***

I know that the people of Asia consider Indonesia the touchstone of the West's sincerity. I know that they put Dutch aggression in Indonesia on a par with the Nazi aggression in Europe, against which we waged a world war. I believe that the attitude of the United States in the Indonesian case, which was basically one of trying to soft-pedal the issue, was unjustifiable and unwise. The peoples of Asia still look to the United States for guidance and leadership but they will do so no longer if they feel that the United States is on the side of the colonial powers. Already disillusionment about the US is beginning to set in throughout Asia.

11 ***Does the United States policy in Japan meet with the approval of the Philippines in particular and Asia in general?***

America's recent cut of Japanese reparations was a cause of pained surprise among all the peoples of Asia. None of us, and most certainly not my countrymen who fought beside US forces from the first day of World War II to the last, can understand why former enemies—Japan, Germany and Italy—should be given such benevolent treatment while we of Asia are left to cope unaided with the grim aftermath of the wars they started.

12 ***What, in your opinion, should be the futu of Japan?***

The future of Japan must be based on the princip that were laid down by the Allies at the time of t surrender. There can be no compromise on eliminati completely all those forces within Japan which led aggression and the subjugation of millions of peop throughout Asia. The Far Eastern Commission cann be just an instrument through which one powerful me ber can enforce arbitrary and unilateral decisions. must honestly and fully reflect the hopes as well as t fears, the needs as well as the desires, of *all* the peopl who have a stake in the future of Japan.

13 ***Do you think Australia's active participatio in the affairs of Asia is desirable?***

We are more than pleased to have both Australia a New Zealand participate actively in Asian affairs. Fi of all, they represent, as we do, a Third Force in the political and economic outlook. Secondly, their partic pation prevents us from repeating the mistake the Eur peans made, namely, that of putting Asian policies on racial basis.

We oppose and deplore various Australian attitud such as the "White Australia" policy, but we feel tha as the precepts and practices of the United Nations ga a stronger foothold, these attitudes will disappear.

14 ***From your vantage point as the chairman a key committee [the Ad Hoc Political Com mittee—Ed.] in this last General Assembl how do you assess the accomplishments an failures of this session?***

I feel that this General Assembly session has been th most fruitful held so far. It brought about the settleme of the Berlin dispute through the instrumentality of th UN. It succeeded in somewhat watering down the ve power. It adopted a resolution on at least certain aspec of freedom of information. From an Asian viewpoint, defeated the attempt of the Metropolitan powers to ke the Indonesian issue off the agenda. While a real soluti was postponed, it was postponed in a manner that alread has made the Netherlands government realize that cannot continue its high-handed behavior.

15 ***How do you think the people of Asia vie the work of this Assembly?***

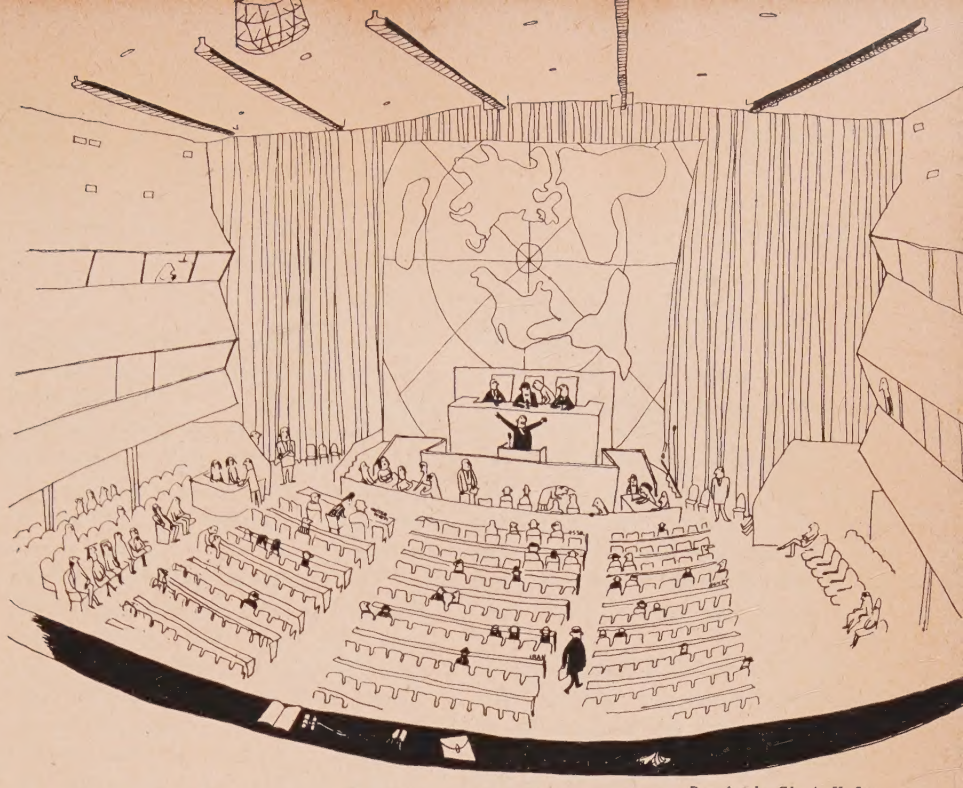
I think they feel as I do, that it has been a most fru ful and hopeful session. I am certain that Asians toda feel delight and relief in seeing that the UN is after a not the disintegrating body that some declare.

16 ***As a leading spokesman for Asia, Mr. Ambas sador, would you sum up what the peoples Asia think of the UN?***

The people of Asia see in the UN the instrument th will help implement the principles embodied in th Atlantic Charter. To them the Charter is not just a other wartime document. It was the promise and th beginning of a new way of life. In the same way, th United Nations is not just another war-born internation organization, but rather the indispensable instrume through which free men can build new freedoms.

Inside The UN

by V. X. MADISON



Drawing by Ginnie Hoffman

MEDIATOR'S FUTURE

The ambitions of Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, the man who could ask for almost any job and get it, became clear to me at a recent informal luncheon.

Though Dr. Bunche has been mentioned for a great number of major diplomatic posts, his own goal—for the attainment of which he is willing to put up a spirited fight—is the establishment of a Mediator's office as a permanent post to implement Article 33, Chapter VI of the Charter.

Dr. Bunche believes that 33 should be the key article of the whole Charter in the settlement of disputes. This Article clearly stipulates that "the parties to any dispute . . . shall first of all, seek a solution by negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration . . . or other peaceful means of their own choice." But, unlike Chapter VII, which creates specific agencies for enforcement, including the use of armed force, Chapter VI has none.

A permanent UN Bureau of Mediation would be immediately available to go into action wherever and whenever guns start popping.

Dr. Bunche seems to harbor no illusions about early success, even though Trygve Lie is willing to put his not inconsiderable weight (moral) behind the proposal.

In the meantime, he wants to remain in his present position as top director of the Trusteeship Division to aid the so-called "non-self-governing territories" become members of the family of nations with governments of their own.

ARCE'S FIASCO

The night before April 11, Ambassador José Arce of Argentina instructed his chauffeur, Pierre, to call for him early the next morning. Next day, at 9:15 a.m., his big black limousine was speeding along Hempstead Turnpike toward Lake Success.

Dr. Arce was tired that morning, and a little more irascible than usual. Sunday at his big Bayville, L. I., home had been long and full of lively conferences. He had argued, pleaded and shouted for hours with his Latin American colleagues to shape a united pro-Italian front on the disposition of Italy's former colonies.

Drawing by Derso and Kelen

On that Monday morning in April, Dr. Arce was among the first to enter the deserted delegates' lounge. In nervous haste he rushed through the hall, nodded to Mrs. Roosevelt, then stopped at the bar for an early brandy —"the Spanish one."

He was alone in the Conference room of the Political Committee when an aid found him—and whispered, "*El Conde Sforza ha llegado.*" In the delegates' lounge Dr. Arce greeted with a respectful handshake a black-clad, sad-eyed old man smoking an Italian cigarette in a thin holder. The big battle was on.

Thirty-six days and 11 hours later, Dr. Arce was still fighting the same battle. It was May 17, almost midnight. The General Assembly had come to the final vote on disposition of the colonies. Dr. Arce was sitting in the middle of the great assembly hall, his whole body tense, counting the votes one by one as the voice of Andrew Cordier called them out. Everything went smoothly until Subsection (c) of Paragraph 1 of the compromise draft was reached. This was the recommendation to award trusteeship of Tripolitania to Italy.

Inside

The UN *continued*

Dr. Arce showed relief when Australia voted in favor. He pounded his desk in temper when Haiti's delegate called out a high-pitched "no," he shrugged as Sweden abstained. For a moment it seemed that Tripolitania was going back to Italy. Then the last vote was in—33 in favor, 17 against, 8 abstentions. The paragraph had not carried—*for lack of a single vote needed for a two-thirds majority.*

The Assembly hall burst forth in tumultuous impatience. Speaker after speaker mounted the rostrum to ad lib. Dr. Arce spoke angrily: "A group of my Latin American friends reached an agreement on this resolution," he said. "It was the result of a compromise, but if a single point in the compromise resolution falls, the whole agreement falls with it."

It was long past midnight when the vote was taken on the resolution as a whole. This time, Dr. Arce led a veritable chorus of "nay's," and counted every vote *against* the resolution with unconcealed glee. At 2:35 a.m. on May 18, it was clear that the Italian colonies were to be left hanging in mid-air.

Pierre was waiting for Dr. Arce on the circular road of Flushing Meadow's flag enclosure. He was almost as tired as his boss, as they drove into Bayville at half past three in the morning.

* * *

Next day, the diplomats took stock of what had really happened. This is the appraisal of a distinguished Western diplomat, one of the shrewdest brains in the UN: "Here was diplomacy at its worst—a display of how *not* to conduct international relations.

"The resolution was doomed from the start by, first, the amazing clumsiness with which Italy prepared her case; second, the high pressure tactics of the Latin American bloc; and third, the attempt to force down the delegates' throats a compromise reached behind the UN's back, between Ernest Bevin and Carlo Sforza, 3,000 miles from Lake Success."

Those who knew Count Sforza were indeed disappointed by his plea before a tense session of the First Committee. His speech was commonplace, even trite. There was hardly a word of apology for Italy's aggressive past, for the unprovoked attack on Ethiopia and the murder of virtually all its intellectuals, for its part in World War II, for maladministration in Somaliland, terror in Libya.

Instead his argument often sound ed like a defense of Mussolini's in perialism. This impression was en hanced by the figure sitting behin Count Sforza. He was Enrico Cerutt who, in 1938, was Mussolini's gov ernor of the conquered province o Harrar, Ethiopia. There he lived i vice-regal splendor in a palace fron which Haile Selassie's younger so had been driven. He wore the blac shirt uniform of the Colonial Servic and, if there was in him then an opposition to Fascism, no one coul detect it. The decision to send thi relic of Fascist Italy as a pleader fo the new Italy's aspirations was pathetic error.

What now?

It is obvious that the UN is in n mood to let others make up its min for it. Contrary to what Soviet prop aganda maintains, there is a tremen dous amount of independence in th UN, an inner dynamism whic augurs well for its future. The ques tion of the Italian colonies will b settled in this spirit.

Now that a display of righteou resentment is off the UN's chest, nov that it has asserted its freedom o action in the face of a combine o powerful international lobbies, it i certain that the question of the Ital ian colonies will be settled at th Fourth Assembly this fall—in a man ner not much different from the reso lution defeated at this session.

Assembly Lines

Delegates paying as much as $60 apiece for tickets to "Kiss Me, Kate," "Death of a Salesman" and "South Pacific" . . . Gromyko taking an afternoon off to see his favorite Yankees . . . Yugoslav Vilfan's hesitant manner and Gromyko's flushed poker face as they exchange a reluctant handshake. . . . Wellington Koo's isolation, and that forlorn look in the eyes of elder delegates of China.

Canada's George Ignatieff, whose grandfather was a provincial governor of the Tsar . . . The Englishman, John H. Spencer, who has accreditation as one of Ethiopa's delegates. . . . Norway's valiant attempt to soften Russian ire by voting for the Soviet side on two issues.

The way Israel's Aubrey S. Eban conquers his native shyness. . . . The discrepancy between the convictions and instructions of France's Jean Chauvel. . . . Thomas J. Hamilton, the New York *Times* correspondent, whom delegates call "the voice of gloom" and "Public Pessimist Number 1."

. . . The long line of US tycoons a Gromyko's swanky dinner parties.

Dr. Charles Malik of the Lebanon most conscientious of all delegates keeping up with both the Genera Assembly and the Human Right Commission. . . . Mrs. Yakov Mali at Macy's on West 34th Street, wit Mme. Gromyko's shopping list. . . Australia's Norman J. O. Makin de livering the most forthright speec on Franco. . . . The Transjordan ob server congratulating Moshe Share on Israel's admission. . . . The class words of Dr. Evatt: "This session o the Assembly has written its nam in the enduring pages of man's a complishments. . . . Let the people b assured of this pledge: the fight o these United Nations for peace wi go on and on until the victory o peace with justice is assured."

General Assembly

ISRAEL became the 59th member of the United Nations on May 11. The vote was 37-12 with 9 abstentions. Arab states, in opposition, charged the new state with not living up to its international obligations (UNW, May). Representatives of Israel, Jordan, Egypt, Lebanon and Syria, meeting in Lausanne under the auspices of the UN, agreed that discussion on Israel's obligations as well as its frontiers will be simultaneous.

SPAIN: Franco flunked again. Sixteen embarrassed abstentions made it impossible for Spain to receive a two thirds vote needed to lift the diplomatic quarantine the UN declared against it in 1946.

FIRST AMERICANS: The Assembly asked ECOSOC to study conditions of aboriginal and other groups in countries on the American continent. Eastern European delegates protested that the resolution did not go far enough, that it should take a stand against discrimination directed towards certain minorities such as Negroes and Indians.

THE VETO, perennial problem of the UN, set off more fireworks as the Assembly approved ways to modify its use in the Security Council. Suggestions include: Making certain decisions not subject to veto; asking the Big Five to scrap unanimity on certain questions when 7 affirmative votes have been cast; consultation of the Big Five before an important vote. The tally: 43-6 with Burma and India abstaining.

PRESS: It's in black and white now. The new press convention commits governments to allow—within limits—journalists to transmit information. Balancing this, a government-slanted provision commits journalists to transmit official protests or "corrections." The "limits" are to be determined by national security—a flexible phrase; but peacetime censorship rules, while still permitted, are to be posted in advance and censoring is no longer to be done secretly.

RELIGIOUS TRIALS: The General Assembly formally expressed its concern on April 30 at the accusations brought against Bulgaria and Hungary on suppression of human rights and freedoms (the religious-spy cases) and referred the problem to the signatories of the Peace Treaties with the two countries. The problem will remain on the GA agenda for the fourth session. The vote was 34-6 with 9 abstentions. Hungary and Bulgaria refused to attend Assembly discussions, insisting that the Mindszenty and other cases were purely domestic.

EFFICIENCY: Needled by the Scandinavian countries, the Assembly set up a Special Committee to study ways of getting more work accomplished. Fifteen nations are on the Committee, including Russia. The Eastern European delegates abstained in the vote after opposing the proposal, contending that what was needed was elimination of irrelevant items—such as the Mindszenty case—from the GA agenda.

SOVIET WIVES: The Assembly decided on April 25 to ask the USSR to withdraw measures which "prevent or coerce" Soviet wives of foreign nationals from leaving the country with, or to join, their husbands. Eastern European countries opposed. The vote, 39-6 with 11 abstentions.

UN GUARD: A 14-member Special Committee will study the Secretary-General's plan for a UN Guard and similar proposals that may come up, and report to the Assembly's fourth session in the fall. Eastern European delegates opposed, holding that the Secretary-General's plan was "illegal" circumvention of the Security Council which holds exclusive control of UN armed forces. Lie's reply: He sought only facilities for carrying out UN missions, not armed forces.

INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION: On the advice of its Interim Committee, the Assembly approved the following steps: Bringing the General Act of 1928 for the pacific settlement of disputes up to date and opening it for signatures; asking the Security Council to appoint a Rapporteur or Conciliator for disputes brought to its attention; amending the General Assembly rules of procedure; establishing a Panel of Inquiry and Conciliation (with from one to five persons from each member government) which will always be on call.

TONGUES: The Assembly postponed decision on adding Russian and Chinese to its working languages.

Security Council

TRIESTE: The Council finally put to a vote the Soviet proposal to appoint Col. Hermann Flueckiger of Switzerland (UNW, April) governor of Trieste. Result: Only two, the Ukraine and the USSR, voted yes; the other nine abstained.

INDONESIA—progress report: In Batavia, Dutch and Republican leaders, negotiating under auspices of the UN Indonesian Commission, have adopted concessions that portend agreement. ■ The Dutch finally agreed (a) to free political prisoners and (b) turn its capital, Jogjakarta, back to the Republic. ■ The Republicans agreed (a) to call off their guerrillas and (b) to sit down with the Dutch at the Hague to work out a United States of Indonesia of which the Republic will be part.

Specialized Agencies

JOINERS: Thailand becomes the 48th country to join the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund . . . Israel, the UN's newest member, is the 61st to join ILO . . . Finland is the 52nd member of the International Civil Aviation Organization . . . Uruguay is the 62nd to join the World Health Organization. Now that 14 Western Hemisphere countries have joined, the Pan American Sanitary Bureau in Washington becomes officially a regional WHO office. It has been acting as such since March 1.

THE TUBERCULOSIS DRIVE, sponsored by UNICEF, WHO and the Scandinavian Red Cross societies, has expanded from Europe to India and Ceylon—where TB is second only to malaria. Teams are now training local doctors and nurses to give tests and administer BCG vaccine. Pakistan is next. WHO has allotted $1 million for BCG programs in the three states, has begun BCG production at King Institute, Madras, is also surveying TB in Iran, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and Aden, and in Latin America.

ICAO chalked up another North Atlantic rescue on April 27. US Coast Guard cutter *Sebago* guided a USAF C-47 to a safe crash-landing, got the 4-man crew off safely. The plane had developed engine trouble 700 miles east of Newfoundland.

UNESCO is contributing $23,570 to help revive education and science in Indonesia where urgent needs are estimated to amount to $500,000.

An Editorial—By Trygve Lie

Lift Up the Heart

THE DAYS OF DARK WORRY ARE PAST—

The UN has shown that it can make life safer and better for all m

AS THE General Assembly winds up its third session, the dark times of the UN would seem to be behind us.

This Session opened last September at Paris in an atmosphere of crisis and of profound fear. When we adjourned temporarily in December the sense of crisis had been eased, but fear and discouragement remained. Now hopes for peace are brighter and faith in the United Nations is stronger than for a long time.

The Berlin blockade was ended by agreement reached in New York—the headquarters of the United Nations. It was at Lake Success in February that the first informal conversations took place between the United States and Soviet delegates—Dr. Jessup of the US and Mr. Malik of the USSR.

It was by United Nations delegates in United Nations delegation offices that these conversations were successfully concluded. This resulted in the lifting of the blockades and the calling into session once again of the Council of Foreign Ministers.

What does this record show? It shows that the United Nations has generated persistent and powerful influences for the peaceful settlement of the most dangerous dispute that has arisen since the end of the war. These influences for peace have persisted and re-asserted themselves in one form or another despite all setbacks until eventually they have prevailed.

In other settings and under other circumstances the United Nations has also proved its value as a peacemaker—though the dynamic instrument of the new diplomacy cannot be expected always to appear harmonious. When, therefore, amid the dissonance of political strife, the goal of the UN seems to recede, we must still keep in mind that the UN is our global town hall, a world parliament to serve for reconciling divergent views, even though in heated debate. Without the UN, the only testing ground for the settling of international disputes would be the battlefield.

The UN draws its sustenance from the peoples and it is upon them that its future achievements and its very existence depend. To have and to hold the support and the confidence of the peoples, the UN must demonstrate beyond all doubt that it can make life safer and better, easier and simpler for flesh and blood human beings.

Nobody has been particularly shy about putting the UN to the test. In the last three years the world's peoples have had perhaps too many opportunities to gauge its ability to deal with tough questions and threatening situations.

In the wake of World War I existing organizations were not strong enough and the will to co-operate i nationally was not urgent enough to prevent pos dislocations and disruptions from flaming into ar conflicts in which multitudes lost lives and homes.

In the wake of World War II the questions were es tially the same, but at least one answer was diffe Mankind created in the UN the expression of a new and a rational resolve to avoid the pitfalls insepar from a postwar period—although skeptics and cr persist in their reluctance either to see or to admit it UN has been able to deal effectively with most of issues which came before it.

The Security Council is the arm of the UN specific designed to save man from a third world war.

Not all the questions before the Security Council h been settled. And not all settlements completely sat everyone. But in practically every case, the Secu Council has taken action to control or influence the si tion in a way to lessen, if not to eliminate the dange a third war.

I fail to understand the suggestion sometimes put ward that public discussion of issues at stake is ei responsible for their perpetuation or is useless. The trary is the case.

THE EAST-WEST conflict has prevented *universal* operation in the constructive tasks of making life be easier, simpler, for all men. But it has not prevented United Nations and its Specialized Agencies from tal tremendous strides along the road toward a better wo

The first duty of the United Nations is to prevent other global war. But the United Nations was also fo ed on the assumption that we cannot build perma peace unless we eliminate or greatly reduce the fu mental causes of war. Hence, the Charter entrusted United Nations with the task of leading and co-ordi ing the efforts of the Member States to reduce econo and social and—where non-self-governing peoples concerned—even political injustices.

The Economic and Social Council, and the Trustee Council, and the Specialized Agencies are now as a in this area as the Security Council is in its own dom

The mere existence of the United Nations will break down the differences which still divide the and the West. But the United Nations can and must s as a means of settling those differences peaceably.

Its record to date is cheering evidence that it has capacity to fulfill that duty and thus make the live all men safer and better, easier and simpler.